

## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

Over the past year the papyrological community lost some dear colleagues, all friends of this writer: Sarah J. Clackson (see the obituary by T.G. Wilfong on pp. 7-10), Mrs Louise Youtie, the long-time guardian of the Michigan Papyrus Collection (an obituary will appear in the next issue of the *Bulletin*), and Marjo Lehtinen, member of the Finnish team which, together with researchers from the University of Michigan, is responsible for the decipherment of the carbonized papyri from Petra, Jordan. Marjo was a key figure in this project, because she was an expert in the conservation of these papyri, in the prosopography of the archive, and was the chief maintainer of our electronic databases for the project. All will be missed.

On a happier note, the Summer Seminars in Papyrology, organized under the auspices of the American Society of Papyrologists (ASP), began in the summer of 2003 in Yale with great success. This year's seminar will be held at Berkeley and next year's at Cincinnati. In order to create permanent financial support for these Seminars, the ASP has initiated the creation of an endowment. For more details and future plans, see the Announcement on pp. 243-5 of this issue.

The present volume of *BASP* is divided into two main sections. The first contains publications, republications, and discussions of literary and documentary texts, and several essays on various aspects of Graeco-Roman and Arab Egypt (pp. 7-221). The second section consists of reviews of recent publications (pp. 223-239). Contributions in both sections are arranged alphabetically by author name.

Once again the present issue was produced camera-ready in the Papyrology Rooms, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, on a Mac G4 computer and was printed on a Hewlett-Packard LaserJet 5000GN at 1200 dpi. The editors wish to express their thanks to this institution for making its facilities available to the *Bulletin*. Thanks are due also to Professor Thelma K. Thomas, Associate Dean of the Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan, for financial support. I would like to acknowledge in particular a generous grant for editorial subvention of the *Bulletin* from the Dorot Foundation. Such support is vital for the continued publication and improvement of *BASP* and is always appreciated. Finally, we wish to thank Lauren Caldwell, Ph.D. candidate in Classical Studies, and Dr. Robert Caldwell for editorial assistance.

Traianos Gagos  
Editor-in-Chief, and  
President, ASP

†Sarah J. Clackson  
(1965-2003)

Sarah J. Clackson died on 10 August 2003 at her home in Cambridge. Sarah's death at the age of 37 cut short an already impressive career as a Coptic papyrologist, and left us all bereft of a valued colleague, collaborator and friend.

Born Sarah J. Quinn on 11 December 1965, Sarah began her university education at St. John's College, Cambridge in 1985, receiving an honors B.A. in Classics and Egyptology from that institution in 1989. Sarah's publication of a hieroglyphic stela in Girton College, the first of her long series of scholarly publications, appeared early in 1991. Later that year, she married James Clackson, whom she had met eight years earlier and with whom she would spend the rest of her life. Sarah began work on her doctorate at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London in 1992 and received her degree in 1996 with a thesis on the monasteries of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome. She was a Research Fellow in the Arts at Girton College, Cambridge, and the Lady Wallis Budge Research Fellow at Christ's College, Cambridge from 1998 to 2003. She also was awarded a number of fellowships, many for her work on papyrus collections, most recently a Humboldt Research Fellowship.

In the twelve years following the appearance of her first article, Sarah published an impressive range of reviews, articles and monographs, and lectured widely. Many of her publications and lectures centered around her research on the Hermopolite Monasteries of Apa Apollo—several articles and reviews and her substantial monograph *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* (Griffith Institute Monographs, Oxford 2000), a review of which appears in the present volume of *BASP*, as well as a number of projected publications and collaborations. Sarah's work was characterized by her interest in texts related to specific ancient places, witnessed not only by her work on the Hermopolite texts, but also her work on Coptic papyri from Elephan-

tine, Oxyrhynchus and Aphrodito, and ostraca and graffiti from Amarna. She also had a great interest in what she called "museum archaeology": tracking down the routes by which related groups of texts were dispersed through different collections worldwide. Regular readers of *BASP* will remember Sarah's frequent contributions to the journal, her editions of new texts, notes and insightful reviews; a full bibliography of Sarah's published work will appear in the next volume of *BASP*. Members of the American Society of Papyrologists will also be aware of Sarah's contributions to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (*BASP* Supplements 9, 2001). Indeed it was Sarah who was a driving force in the inclusion of Coptic material in this central reference of papyrology, part of her intense desire to bring to Coptic papyrology the methods, principles and organization found in Greek papyrology, and indeed to help unite the various language-differentiated branches of papyrology into a unified scholarly endeavor. Sarah's work was characterized by her great attention to detail, her amazing abilities to tease meaning out of the least promising and most illegible texts and her great enjoyment of, and energy for, her work.

In addition to Sarah's published research, she has been known for her extensive work on unpublished Coptic documents in papyrus collections across Europe, North America and Egypt, many previously unknown to Coptacists. There are few collections that she did not visit at some point in her travels. Her most ambitious project was to catalogue the Coptic papyri and manuscripts in the many collections at Cambridge, but she also made many other significant surveys of major collections and turned up interesting texts in the most unlikely places. Sarah was always on the lookout for unpublished texts, and not just for her own research: she was extraordinarily generous with her findings, and many of us have profited from Sarah's notes on texts relating to our own research. The collections that Sarah visited also benefited greatly from her attention; we are, for example, still absorbing and making use of the notes she left on the collections in Ann Arbor from her visit in 2001.

All of this gives a portrait of Sarah Clackson as a serious and prolific scholar, and this was certainly an important part of who she was, but otherwise only inadequately gives a sense of Sarah as a

person. Coptic Studies and Papyrology have indeed lost an extraordinary scholar and colleague, but we as individuals have also lost a wonderful friend. All of us will have different memories of Sarah, but there will be many consistent threads. Sarah was widely-read, cultured, energetic, generous, adventurous and had a wonderful sense of humor and a great sense of style. She loved art, music, reading, travel, good food; she loved her friends and family, her cat Nantucket, and most of all her husband James. I have many memories of serious discussions of Coptic texts with Sarah from which I benefited greatly, but my favorite memories of her are less scholarly: exploring the amazing collection of early 20<sup>th</sup> century art in the basement of the Beinecke Library during brief breaks from preparation for our "master class" in Coptic papyrology, climbing over bridges for a very athletic tour of the Cambridge colleges, shopping our way through thrift stores in Ann Arbor, laughing over title possibilities for her articles that were to become "Something Fishy" and "Fish and Chits," enjoying a leisurely lunch by a canal in Leiden on a break from the 2000 Coptic Studies Congress. I last saw Sarah in Cambridge about a month before her death, on a visit more business than social, as we went through her scholarly papers so that I could inventory them on behalf of the Griffith Institute. But even then, what I best remember is a break from the work spent in her garden, talking and laughing with our friend Dominic Montserrat on a beautiful summer day. We will all miss Sarah's goodness, energy, humor and friendship, even more than we will miss her scholarship.

Shortly before Sarah's death, she made arrangements for her papers to go to the Griffith Institute in Oxford. A preliminary catalogue of this material shows a truly important body of work—careful transcriptions of hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of mostly unpublished Coptic documentary texts held in collections worldwide, along with notes and images, substantial manuscripts pertaining to Sarah's numerous ongoing projects and collaborations, and more general notes on a wide variety of subjects. One of Sarah's great concerns was that scholars be able to make use of this material to which she had devoted so much of her energies and efforts. Once the transfer of her papers to the Griffith Institute is completed, scholars will have access to a impressive resource and, as



the cataloguer of these papers, I would like to encourage use of this rich body of material when it becomes available.<sup>1</sup>

Sarah's papers will join the papers of Copticists Paul E. Kahle and Walter E. Crum at the Griffith Institute, and this is certainly appropriate company. Sarah's career brings to mind parallels with that of Paul Kahle—a brilliant Coptic papyrologist who was also a Lady Wallis Budge Fellow, author of a major monograph (a collection of texts from a single site that also addressed subjects of wider significance) and a series of important articles, a scholar whose untimely death was a severe loss to Coptic studies. But Sarah's unpublished work is perhaps even more reminiscent of that of Walter Crum in its breadth and comprehensiveness, evidence of a mature intelligence and a masterful scholar with wide-ranging interests and areas of expertise, whose legacy to the field is substantial.

T. G. WILFONG

*The University of Michigan*

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<sup>1</sup> A fund has been set up in Sarah's name to facilitate scholarly work on her papers at the Griffith Institute and to further her work in Coptic and Papyrology. The most effective way for Americans to contribute is through the American Friends of Oxford by using their "Gift Form for US Residents," which can be found at: <http://www.development.ox.ac.uk/webimages/us.pdf>. After "allocated to the University," donors need to write in: "for the Sarah J. Clackson Coptic Fund" and send this form with their donation to Oxford's North American Office in New York City (the address is given on the form). Europeans can send contributions directly to Oxford (cheques payable to "University of Oxford Development Trust" with a note specifying that the donation is "for the Sarah J. Clackson Coptic Fund") at: University of Oxford Development Office (attention Paul Rickett), Oxenford House, Magdalen Street, Oxford OX1 3AB, UK. Direct fund transfers are also possible, using the following information (and making sure to indicate that the purpose of the contribution is the "Sarah J. Clackson Coptic Fund" or just "Clackson Coptic Fund"): Account Name: University of Oxford Development Trust, Account Number: 4015586, Sort Code: 20-65-20, Account Address: Barclays Bank, Oxford City Centre Branch, PO Box 333, Cornmarket Street, Oxford, OX1 3HS.

## *P. Princ.* II 84 Revisited

In publishing the Greek recto of this fragmentary document in 1936, E.H. Kase, Jr. identified it as the sale of a house<sup>1</sup> from the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., a dating he accompanied by a question mark. The provenance of the papyrus was given as "unknown." Kase noted that a Coptic text stood on the verso; this was published by Leslie MacCoull in *ZPE* 96 (1993) 227-9, where it is identified as a contract to supply wine at a future date against a present payment. She does not comment on the date, but she suggests that the Hermopolite nome is the provenance, a remark based mainly on the name Taurinos (in the unpublished line 3)<sup>2</sup> but also buttressed by the citation of a Greek text providing a close parallel to the Coptic.<sup>3</sup> Digital images of both sides of the Princeton papyrus are now available in APIS.<sup>4</sup> The Greek hand is obviously sixth-century, and the parallels to the phraseology are of the same century, as the editor's introduction indeed acknowledges.<sup>5</sup> The Coptic text is thus cer-

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<sup>1</sup> Bibliography on sales can be found in H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt 1994) 115-7. For an updated list of sales from the period A.D. 400-700, see the appendix to this article.

<sup>2</sup> Although most common in the Hermopolite, the name is in fact found elsewhere. It is fair to record, however, that the instances known at Aphrodito all appear to belong to officials who are likely to have originated elsewhere. The origin of the individual in the present case naturally need not be the place of writing of the document.

<sup>3</sup> This document is cited as *SPP* XX 144, but in fact it has been republished with an additional fragment containing lines 1-11 as *SB* XVI 12492; there the date is given as A.D. 638. The parallel is in fact very partial; although many common elements occur, the order and phrasing are different in a number of passages.

<sup>4</sup> Greek: <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/dlo?obj=princeton.apis.p686&size=150&face=f&tile=0>. Coptic: <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/dlo?obj=princeton.apis.p847&size=150&face=b&tile=0>.

<sup>5</sup> We take the opportunity to note another misjudgment of date in the volume. *P.Princ.* II 85, a sale of a slave, is dated also to "5<sup>th</sup> (?) cent. A.D." In fact this

tainly not earlier than the later 6<sup>th</sup> century and could easily be somewhat later.<sup>6</sup> We offer some comments on readings in the Coptic document after our reedition of the Greek text.

The question of provenance is difficult. The surviving names (apart from Taurinos) are not distinctive and none can be securely identified with a known person. The formula ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν δώσειν ποιεῖν φυλάττειν in lines 2-3 is not distinctive, and not enough survives here for us to be certain that the variant in this text matches that attested in one place rather than another. The closest parallels appear to be from Hermopolis and Aphrodito, but we must reckon with the fact that many legal documents in the archive of Dioskoros were drafted during his years (566-73) working as a notary in Antinoopolis, the close neighbor of Hermopolis.<sup>7</sup> The formula in line 8 (see note *ad loc.*) is known only from Hermopolite and Antinoopolite documents, but once again nothing in that fact would preclude the possibility that we have a document found at Aphrodito and written in Antinoopolis, or even that the formula was used more widely than our surviving documentation indicates. More decisive, perhaps, is the very opening of the Princeton papyrus, εἰς πάντα τ[ὰ] ἐγγ[ε]γραμμέ[να] ἐπ[ε]ρ[ω]τηθέντες. To this precise phrase there is no parallel, but its near cousin with πρὸς in place of εἰς is found exclusively in the Aphrodito papyri, with one attestation (*P.Herm.* 32) lacking a certain provenance (see n. 7 below), and the same is true of the phrase εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα found earlier in most of the same Aphrodito papyri (see note to lines 2-3). This is the strongest evidence for an Aphrodito provenance. As our

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hand appears to belong to the sixth or seventh century; cf. *CPR* XXIII 35 for a similar hand.

<sup>6</sup> MacCoull points out that the Greek side is across the fibers, the Coptic with them. This is of course the normal state of affairs in this period; the Greek text was written first, in rotulus fashion across the shorter dimension of the papyrus, the Coptic later along the fibers on the other side. MacCoull says that "Coptic parallels ... also exist," but she does not list any. Those she cites in the line notes are not earlier than the seventh century (*CPR* IV 82, 8<sup>th</sup> cent.; *CPR* IV 83, 7<sup>th</sup> cent.; *P.CrumST* 89, no date assigned).

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Luc Fournet points out to us the case of *P.Herm.* 59, which comes from the Antaiopolite or Apollonopolite Mikra (see *CPR* VII, p. 159 and *Cd'É* 71 [1996] 350). *P.Herm.* 32, which has the formula in question, may also, Fournet suggests, come from the Dioskoros archive.

discussion of the price will show (note to line 7), the *παρὰ κεράτια* phrase also points to Aphrodito. The formula of the Coptic contract is certainly similar to some from Hermopolis (cited below), but without comparable material from Aphrodito it is hard to say how distinctive these formulas are.

The Princeton collection contains, as far as a search of catalogue records in APIS discloses, no sixth-century Hermopolite papyri, but there is one published papyrus belonging to the Dioskoros archive (*P.Princ.* II 89; inv. GD 7681a), and one unpublished contract (GD 7177) assigned "Aphrodito (?)" as a provenance. This information, however scanty, also favors a provenance from Aphrodito for *P.Princ.* II 84. It should be pointed out, however, that the loan for repayment in kind, the "Lieferungskauf" analyzed by Andrea Jördens in *P.Heid.* V, is not a feature of the Aphrodito documentary corpus; Jördens' list (pp. 296-301) contains not a single example. Such documents do occur in the material from all of the other major sixth-century provenances (Arsinoe, Herakleopolis, Oxyrhynchos, Hermopolis, Antinoopolis). It is hard not to wonder if the reuse of the papyrus for the wine document is not to be attributed to Hermopolis or Antinoopolis.

Much of the original papyrus is clearly lost; its surviving width is at maximum 16.5 cm. We have only the last three lines of the main body of the contract, the subscription of the first seller, and the subscription of the second seller together with the statement of her *hypographeus*.<sup>8</sup> The first three lines were not read very successfully by the editor. In the first two lines, the right-hand part of what the editor read stands on a separate fragment, placed in the frame today too far to the left. We propose to read the Greek text as follows:

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<sup>8</sup> MacCoull has suggested (p. 229) that "since one of the parties to the sale is Euphemia daughter of John, a nun (μονάζουσα), it is possible that *αμα* in line 4 (cited wrongly by MacCoull as 5) might not be understood as *ἄμα* but rather as the religious title *Ἄμα*, 'Ama, Mother,' here in the dative: 'I have sold to Ama Euphemia ...' This could make the Greek document an instance of a religious woman purchasing a dwelling." That, however, is impossible. Euphemia subscribes in lines 9ff. as a seller; the subscription of the purchaser would have no purpose, and her (i.e. her *hypographeus*) [*ἀπὲς*] *χον ἄμμα* (l. *ἄμα*) *αὐτῇ* makes it clear that she is acting with Serenos, the other seller.



however, this view rests on inadequate restorations. It will be observed that in line 3, where the first, scribal hand is at work except for the last few letters, the preserved text to the left of the break at the right side amounts to 25 letters, while the restoration in line 2, where considerably more is lost, requires some 33 letters. That is, not quite half of the text must be lost at right. Bearing in mind that the blank left margin would have accommodated another 4-5 letters, we may estimate that the total width of the text was around 50-55 letters, occupying all but the left margin of a normal roll of 32-33 cm in height. That is, half of the width of the Greek document is lost. The larger hand of lines 4-8 will have given lines of only about 35-40 letters each. In line 8, where the restorations are secure, the amount restored is 19 letters, yielding a total count of 35 (plus an abbreviation stroke); in line 9, where the third and somewhat smaller hand picks up, a restoration of 21 letters yields a line-width of 50 letters.

1 It is not evident what to restore in this line. The appearance of the proper name Phibios (attested at Hermopolis and Aphrodito) is unexpected, as this section of sales is usually occupied with legal boilerplate, not information about the parties. It is also possible that the name is connected with the description or boundaries of the property, but this also is not expected at this point in the formula.

2-3 The restorations are based on standard sixth-century phraseology, although *πρός* is normal instead of *εἰς*. *P.Herm.* 32.30-31 (perhaps from Aphrodito, cf. n. 7 above), is a good example: καὶ πρὸς πάν[τα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα] | [ἐπε]ρωτιθέντες (l. ἐπερωτηθέντες) ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν δώσειν ποιεῖν φ[υλάττειν ὁμολογήσαμεν.] Naturally, one could restore ἐπερωτηθέντες with some degree of abbreviation. The formula of ἔχειν δώσειν ποιεῖν φυλάττειν is attested in variations at Hermopolis (*P.Flor.* III 323.20), Lykopolis (*P.Princ.* II 82 = *SB* III 7033.75-76), Syene (*P.Münch.* I 4+5v.46-47), and Aphrodito (numerous instances, e.g., *P.Mich.* XIII 662.60-61). The καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπερωτηθέντες part of the clause, however, is attested (apart from the uncertain case of *P.Herm.* 32) only in documents from Aphrodito: *P.Mich.* XIII 662, 663, 664, and 667; *P.Michael.* 40 and 52; *SB* XVIII 13320, *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 4 and 5. The occurrence of *εἰς* here instead of *πρός* is probably to be explained as

a slip caused by the use (in these same documents, plus *P.Lond.* V 1660) of the phrase εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα (or in *P.Mich.* XIII 667.25-26, προεγεγραμμένα) at an earlier point in the formulary. (At the conclusion, *P.Lond.* V 1660.47 reads ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις.) The distinction from Hermopolite usage can be seen clearly by comparison with *P.Flor.* III 323.20, where for ἐγγεγραμμένα we find προεγεγραμμένα and after ἐπερω[τη]θεῖσα we get παρ' αὐτοῦ. Neither of these is compatible with the spacing and the traces in the present papyrus.

3-4 It will be noticed that neither Serenos nor Euphemia has the praenomen Aurelius (or Flavius). In the context of a legal document, that is likely to indicate religious status, something that we know Euphemia had as a female monk, for clerics and monks generally do not use Aurelius. See briefly J.G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 287 n.155 and J.R. Rea, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 89. There are exceptions both for clergy and for monks, however, and a proper study of this subject would be worthwhile. In all likelihood, then, a title like μονάζων or some clerical grade followed Serenos' patronymic in line 3, occupying the remainder of the available space.

4, 6, 9, 11 The phrasing of the subscriptions to a sale contract with ἅμα in this manner is paralleled as far as we know only in *PSI* XII 1239 (Antin., 430), which is also a parallel to the phrasing in line 8 (see below). The lacuna in 4 may have contained Euphemia's patronymic (Ἰωάννου), a description of Euphemia's relationship to Serenos, or μοναζούσῃ.

5, 10 A wide variety of phraseology with cὺν χρηστηρίοις is attested; the wordings restored here are both known, but cὺν τοῖς αὐτῇς would also be possible in 5.

6 τούτων is restored *exempli gratia*; ταύτης would be equally possible, depending on how the writer was thinking about the property. This appears to be a rare instance in which the two subscribers did not write exactly the same text.

7 The bulk of the first editor's introduction is occupied by discussion of the problem posed by the purchase price. Here only the letter epsilon is preserved, while in line 12 only the word δεκαπέντε is preserved. These are obviously irreconcilable if both are assumed to be the number of solidi, and the editor properly excluded a very

high price like 115 sol. The editor then considered the possibility of reading the price as 5 sol., 15 ker., but rejected this on grounds of length. Even if the latter objection was misconceived (as we believe), such a price would be out of line with normal usage. The correct solution was recognized by H. Maehler, *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten*. Aeg.Trev. 2 (Mainz 1983) 132: the price must be a number of solidi beginning in epsilon παρὰ κεράτια δεκαπέντε. There is no difficulty in restoring lines 11-12 accordingly, and the length of the expected restoration will accommodate any of a number of possibilities. It will be seen, however, that the same is not true in line 7, where even the shortest restoration (ἐξ) and abundant abbreviation give us a line length exceeding that of the other restorations in the portion written by this person. One could gain two letters by assuming βεβαιῶ instead of the future, but this is a doubtful expedient.

The situation is complicated further by the fact that the παρὰ computations with solidi are not made up of random numbers. The list compiled by Klaus Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia*. Pap.Colon. 21 (Opladen 1994) 159-71, shows that in the sixth century documents from Hermopolis and Antinoopolis almost always show a number of keratia five or six times the number of solidi (that is, the solidi in question were reckoned as containing only 18 keratia). As with all provenances, there are occasional variations (e.g. *P.Herm.* 65, A.D. 553, with 3.6 keratia per solidus discount), and the precise history of this usage is not fully understood, but no restoration of ε[ will yield a figure compatible with the information known about Hermopolite and Antinoopolite documents. In Aphrodito, by contrast, the discount is usually 2 keratia per solidus, although some variety is again attested.

To make the number of solidi match the normal ratio to keratia in any known provenance, we could restore only ἐ[πτά ἡμίς: 7.5 solidi x 2 keratia, correct for Aphrodito. This restoration, however, would exacerbate the problem of the length of the restoration. No number beginning in epsilon would yield a restoration compatible with Hermopolis or Antinoopolis. It is perhaps more attractive to restore ἐ[ξ and accept a ratio of 2.5 keratia per solidus. But there are enough quirky cases visible in Maresch's list that we think prudence requires refraining from printing a restoration in the text.



8 The first editor put καί inside braces without explanation. He apparently did not recognize the clause used here. A good parallel occurs in *SPP* XX 121.38-40 (Hermop., 439; cf. *CPR* VI 6), a sale of land in which the subscription of the seller concludes καὶ ἀπέσχον τὰ τῆς τιμῆς χρυσοῦ νομικμάτια τεσσεράκοντα ἐκ πλήρους καὶ βεβαιώσω | περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς πρόκειται καὶ πληρωθεὶς τῆς τιμῆς ἀπέλυσα τὴν πρᾶσιν καὶ ἔστιν μου ιδιόγραφον | ὁλόκληρον. The seller thus asserts that on receiving the price he has released the sale document to the purchaser. Similar phraseology stands in *PSI* I 66.36-37 (prob. Hermop.; cf. *BL* II.2, p. 137), *P.Flor.* III 310.19-20 (Hermop., 425-450, cf. *BL* VIII, p. 129), and *PSI* XII 1239 (Antin., 430). All known examples are thus Hermopolite or Antinoopolite.

13-14 Kollouthos is probably the *hypographeus* for Euphemia, since the hand is the same as that of the previous lines. Kase restored at the start of line 14 τῇ]ν πρ[ᾱ]ς[ιν . . . ]κ[ . , but this reading does not persuade us, only the rho seeming to us secure, nor is it expected in the formula concerning illiteracy that Kase restored in line 13. There is certainly sufficient room for some version of the illiteracy formula in line 13, and we cannot say with any confidence what should stand in line 14. Line 13 may have read as simply as Κολλουθός Ἀμ[μωνίου ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, which comes to just 40 letters (cf., e.g., *P.Mich.* XIII 662.66), perhaps with the addition γράμματα μὴ εἰδυίας (cf. *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 5.24), which would bring the restoration to 57 letters, still within the range of possibility for this writer, even without taking account of the possibility of abbreviation. In neither case is it likely that this formula will have continued into line 14 (and we do not think that [ . . . ] γρ[άμμ- is a plausible reading there). The absence of Αὐρήλιος with Kollouthos' name, however, could be an indication that the patronymic was followed by some ecclesiastical or monastic title; nor is there room at the end of line 12 for Αὐρήλιος. In that case, the shorter version of the signatory's formula may have been written. Presumably the signatures of witnesses are still needed before the end of the document, but what we have at the start of 14 does not look to us like [μαρτ]υρ[.

### The Coptic Text on the Verso

Of the 18 lines of this loan of money for repayment in wine, (otherwise known as a sale on delivery), MacCoull provided a text for 13 (lines 6-18). The first five lines she declared too fragmentary for transcription ("Almost nothing can be read ..."). These lines are indeed very difficult (see, as well as the online image, *ZPE* 96 [1993] pl. V), but we offer here a partial transcription, which contains some points of interest. Some improvements are also possible in lines 6-18. In order not to disturb the line numbering of MacCoull's edition, we have numbered what we now believe is the first line as zero.

0	ⲭⲙⲉ
1	[† ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕⲭⲏⲧⲁⲥ [ⲡⲉⲃⲙⲉ ⲡⲱⲉⲛ ⲃⲓⲓⲕⲧⲱⲡ [ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ?]
2	[.....]... ⲓⲛⲡⲧⲟⲱ [ ca. 15 ⲉⲓ]ϥⲁⲓ ⲛ[.....]... ⲡ
3	[.....]..... [.....] ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉ[ⲥⲃ.....]
4	.....[.....]ⲓⲟⲙ..... [.....] ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲡⲟⲕⲣⲟⲧⲱϥ..... ⲑ
5	ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲁⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲙⲣ[ⲡ ca. 9 ]..... [

1-5 Lines 1-2 give the identity of the debtor: " I, Plaketas the vineyard-worker, son of Victor, from ... in the nome of ... write to ..." On the debtor's name, see the notes to lines 15 and 15-16 interlinear. The occupational title is restored on grounds of space, comparing *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1040.1. The name of the creditor/ purchaser should appear in lines 2-3; Taurinos in line 3 is perhaps the patronymic of the creditor. Line 4 undoubtedly contained the opening formula acknowledging the obligation to deliver the wine, but we have not been able to read all of it in the surviving traces. In all likelihood, ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲱⲥ stood in the lacuna before ⲕⲁⲓ, and it is conceivable that its kappa is partly visible just before the lacuna. Before that the parallels suggest ⲧⲓⲭⲣⲉⲱⲥⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ, but we have not managed to read that. What we have read might instead suggest a form of ὁμολογεῖν, but that is not used at this point in the parallels. In line 5 the amount of "fifty kadoi of wine" is clearly written; probably a

phrase describing the capacity of the kados followed in the lacuna. At the very end of line 4 it is possible that an amount in the hundreds preceded "fifty," but if so we have not managed to read it. The surface on the right side in lines 4-5 seems very disturbed, and we are not certain that there is not something written between the lines.

6 Ed.pr.: ΝΑΪ ΤΙΣΟΜΟΛΓΕΙ ΜΝΥΛΛΥ Ν[ΔΜΦΙΒΟΛΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΧΕ ΝΑΚ ΖΝ], "these [sc. the measures of wine] I agree with no equivocation to furnish you in ..." (the editor in fact begins the translation "... for me," but this is an erroneous translation of ΝΑΪ, which is the demonstrative here). The parallel passage in *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1040.4, however, gives the wanted sense: ΝΑΪ ΤΙΣΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΤΑΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ ΖΝ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΜΕCOP[H], "these I agree to give to you, God willing, in Mesore . . ." Line 6 should be in fact read ΝΑΪ ΤΙΣΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ Τ[Δ]ΤΑΔΥ Ν[ΔΚ ΖΝ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠ]ΝΟΥΤΕ Ν "these I agree to give to you from the crop of the eleventh indiction in . . ." (see note to line 7 for the continuation).

7 ΜΕCOPΕ ΠΕΒΟΤ [CYN ΘΕΩ ΜΝΤΟΥΕ ΙΝΔΙΚ(ΤΙΟΝΟC) x (measures), ed.pr. In the Greek parallel cited, however, an amount is not given here: ἐν τῷ ΜεCορῇ μηνὶ τῆς cὺν θεῷ δωδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(voc) ἐν οἶνω νέω etc. Similarly, Coptic sales like *P.Lond.Copt.* I 461 and 1040 in this place do not give the quantity, which has been mentioned earlier; the first of these is particularly revealing: ΤΑΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ ΜΕCOPH ΠΕΒΟΤ ΝΠΚΑΡΠΟC ΝΠΡΩΤΗC ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC), "I am to give them to you in the month of Mesore from the crop of the first indiction." There are in fact traces on the papyrus after ΠΕΒΟΤ, and they do not resemble the letters required by the first editor's text. We propose reading instead, ΜΕCOPΕ ΠΕΒΟΤ ΜΠΚ[ΔΡΠΟC ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΗ]C ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙ)Ο(ΝΟC). The parallel passage in *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1040.5 continues precisely as line 8 does here.

8 At the end of the passage the printed text reads ΕΥΔΡΕCΚΕ ΝΑΚ ΔΥΩ .., ("satisfactory to you and ..") before continuing in line 9 with ΖΒΩ ΝΑΚ ΕΡΟΟΥ. Here again the London parallels are decisive; they are indeed cited in Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 656b along with other examples in the defining ΖΒΩ. We should read at the end of the line, ΤΔ[Τ]Ι, the conjunctive "I am to protect them for you" etc.

12-13 The penalty clause begins ΕΙΔΕ ΜΠΤΔΔΥ ΝΤΙΠΡΟΘΕCΜΙΑ ΕΠ . . | ΤΑΤΙ ΤΡΙΜΗCΙΝ CΝΔΥ, "If I do not give them to you on the appointed day, I shall pay two trimesia." There is no comment on the unread characters. In fact, the end of 12 is to be read ΕΠΙΤΔ, Greek *ἐπειτα*, "then." For this loan word in Coptic, see Hans Förster, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Wörter in den Koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Berlin 2002) 276; the same spelling occurs twice as a rendering of *ἐπειδή*, but that word is not appropriate here.

15 MacCoull read the debtor's name throughout as ΠΛΔΚΗΤ, but the concluding letters are clear in line 1. Here also there are traces of alpha after the tau, and we must read ΠΛΔΚΗΤΔ[C]. Cf. lines 15-16 interlinear.

15-16 Interlinear ΠΛΔΚΗΤ is all that can be read with any confidence. There are faint traces after tau, but at some distance from it and probably not part of the name. The tau may be raised slightly to indicate abbreviation. Cf. lines 1 and 15.

18 The printed text does not indicate that approximately 11 letters must have been lost before the beginning of the restored text, as the lacuna is something like 22 letters in width.

### Appendix: List of House Sales, A.D. 400 – 700

The list is arranged by provenance (the place of writing, not of finding) and date; provenances and dates are given in principle according to entries in the *HGV* internet version.

#### Antinoopolis

*PSI* XII 1239 = *SB* IV 7996 (430): third share of one-story house; price: 2 sol.

*SPP* I, pp. 7-8 (454): half share of house with a cistern, underground chamber, court and equipment; price: 9 sol.

*P.Berl.Zill.* 6 (527-565): 2/3 part of a house, i.e. 3 *kellia*, 1 *koi-ton*, 2 *topoi*, + share in well and sun room; price: lost.

*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67247 (VI): sale of a house or of land? Price: not stated.

**Aphrodito**

*P.Mich.* XIII 663 (VI): 2 *kellia* in a house; price: 2 sol.

*P.Vat.Aphrod.* 4 (2<sup>nd</sup> half VI): (part of) a house; price 3.5 sol.

*P.Vat.Aphrod.* 5 (VI): (part of) a house; price: lost.

*P.Vat.Aphrod.* 6 (VI): (part of) a house; price: 1.5 sol. – 2 ker.<sup>9</sup>

*P.Princ.* II 84 (VI): a house; price: [ ] sol. – 15 ker.

*P.Mich.* XIII 662 (615): part of a house in decay; price: 2/3 sol. – 2 ker.

*SB* XVIII 13320 (= *P.Mich.* XIII 665; 613-641): part of a house consisting of a hall and two men's apartments; price: 2 1/3 sol. – 2 ker.

**Apollinopolis Magna**

*P.Grenf.* I 60 (582): share of a walled courtyard (*BL* XI, p. 86); price: [–] ker.

*SB* I 5112 (618): half a hall in a house; price: 1 2/3 sol.

*SB* I 5114 (630-640): 1/3 part of a house; price: 1 1/3 sol.

**Arsinoe<sup>10</sup>**

*BGU* II (VI-VII): receipt for the price of an already sold house; details of price not indicated.

*P.Dubl.* 32 = *SB* I 5174 (512): a hermit's cell; price: 8 sol., 1200 myr. den.

*P.Dubl.* 33 = *SB* I 5175 (513): a hermit's cell; price 10 sol.

**Bau, Diopolite Minor**

*P.Lond.* V 1735 + 1851 (?) (see *BL* VII, p. 92; late VI): a fifth part of a house; price: 3 sol.

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<sup>9</sup> In line 8, the editor has incorrectly restored the numeral for keratia as γ rather than the correct β.

<sup>10</sup> Although Preisigke entitled *SB* I 5320 a "Hauskauf," we omit it because it is actually a sale of plots of agricultural land.

**Herakleopolite**

*P.Rain.Cent.* 102 (459): (part of a) house?; price: lost.

*P.Köln* VII 323 (Papa Megale; VI/VII): an entire house + courtyard and well; price: 22 sol.

**Hermenthite** (Memnoneia)

*P.Lond.* III 991, pp. 257-258 (482/483; see *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> App. D): and entire house; price: 5 sol.<sup>11</sup>

*P.Herm.* 28 (503): an entire (?) house; price: 2 sol.

**Hermopolis**

*CPR* VII 46 (VI): half part of a *ktema*; price: lost.

*SB* VI 9586 (600): 1/2 of a small *koiton* in decay; price: 10 ker.

*BGU* XVII 2698 (VII): a dining room + terrace above; price: 3 sol. – 3 ker.

*P.Herm.* 35 (VII): an entire house in decay; price: lost.

**Kynopolite**

*T.Varie* 15 (VI): an entire house + courtyard and well; price: not preserved.

**Oxyrhynchos**

*P.Mich.* XV 730 (430): an entire house; price: lost.

*P.Wash.Univ.* I 15 (late V): 1/8 of a house with a courtyard, well and other appurtenances; price: not preserved.

*SB* VI 8987 (644/645): one *symposion* + *aithra*; price: 3 sol. of 23 ker. each.

**Panopolis**

*P.Par.* 21 ter + *P.Par.* p. 257 (599): a third share of a three-story building with underground chambers; price: 2 sol. – x ker.

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<sup>11</sup> In line 3 restore [ἀπὸ κώμης Μεμνον]ίων.

**Syene**<sup>12</sup>

*P.Münch.* I 15 + *P.Lond.* V 1855 (493): *cella* and court; price: 2 sol.

*P.Lond.* V 1722 (530): house with two *cellae* in basement, two dining rooms on second floor with terrace, two others on unroofed third floor also with terrace; price: 18 sol.

*P.Lond.* V 1724 (578): house with a small *cella* on first floor, dining room and small chamber (*doma*), a third share of another chamber and a third part of all equipment including porch, *pylon*, terrace, and half share of a bake house; price: 10 sol.

*P.Lond.* V 1728 (585): transfer of half share of a house to sister and brother-in-law on condition that the latter assume the entire obligation for maintenance of his mother.

*P.Münch.* I 9 (585): half share of a dining room in a four story house, share of fourth story chamber, share of a house inherited from his father, share of a small house inherited partly from mother and partly from father, and a half share of another house purchased by vendor; price: 10 sol.

*P.Münch.* I 11 (586): half share of a home including half share of porch, *pylon*, terrace, sun rooms, and bake shop; price: 5 sol.

*P.Münch.* I 12 (590): half share of three story house, *cella* on first floor, dining room on second floor, *hypopession*, dining room on third floor, open air chamber and large room with equipment; also half of porch, *pylon*, terrace, and bake shop; price: 5 sol.

*P.Lond.* V 1733 (594): half share of a dining room on the second story, fourth of an open air apartment above the *accubitum* with half of a porch, *pylon*, terrace, passageway and bake shop; price: 3 sol.

*P.Münch.* I 13 (594): half share of a court of a house in decay; price: 1 1/3 sol.

*P.Lond.* V 1734 (mid VI): dining room; price: 3 sol.

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<sup>12</sup> For house property in Syene and the documents listed here see G. Husson, "Houses in Syene in the Paternouthis Archive," *BASP* 27 (1990) 123-37. For the descriptions of house sales, especially in Syene, we have used the summaries in A.C. Johnson - L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 199-200.

*P.Münch.* I 16 (end of VI): court; price: 2 sol.

**This**

*P.Par.* 21 bis (592): house in ruins, a small *cella* and lot; price: 3 sol. – 1 ker.

*P.Par.* 21 (616): entire house; price: 13 ker.

**Provenance Unknown**

*P.Köln* III 155 (VI): house + appurtenances; price: 4 2/3 sol.

*SB* XX 14448 (VI/VII): half part of a house; price: lost.

*P.Got.* 22 (VI): a small house and an *epaulis*; price: lost.

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## The *Book of Jubilees* in Coptic: An Early Christian *Florilegium* on the Family of Noah (Plates 1-2)

Published here is the *editio princeps*, with translation and commentary, of a papyrus text in the collection of the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library at Yale University.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript (P.CtYBR inv. 4995) is a single sheet, and comprises two texts, one literary and one documentary.<sup>2</sup> The literary text is edited below.<sup>3</sup> This text—a fragment of a larger work—is a Chris-

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<sup>1</sup> Previous versions of this paper were presented at the APA Annual Meeting (American Society of Papyrologists panel) in Washington, D.C., December 1998; the symposium "Old Books and New Learning: Medieval Manuscripts in the Beinecke Library" in New Haven, Conn., April 1998; and at a "Greco-Roman Lunch" colloquium, also in New Haven. I have profited from scholars at each of these venues; in particular I would like to thank Harold Attridge, Robert Babcock, Stephen Davis, and Bentley Layton. Any errors or shortcomings in the present edition, however, remain those of the author alone. A version of this paper, which includes a preliminary description and translation of the text without critical edition, was previously published in Robert G. Babcock and Lee Patterson (eds.), *Old Books, New Learning: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Books at Yale* (New Haven, Conn. 2001) 3-7. Considerable revisions have been made to the text, translation, and commentary since this was published. I would also like to thank the Beinecke Library for permission to publish the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript (P.CtYBR inv. 4995) was acquired by the library in 1997 as part of a collection of primarily documentary papyri in Coptic and Greek.

<sup>3</sup> The literary text comprises two passages, which are distinguished in accordance with the Beinecke cataloging system as P.CtYBR. inv. 4995(A) and P.CtYBR. inv. 4995(B) (second text). It includes the entirety of the verso (P.CtYBR. inv. 4995[A]) and several lines in the same hand on the recto (P.CtYBR. inv. 4995[B] [second text]). As is sometimes the case, the designation of sides A and B does not correspond to the original order in which the papyrus was inscribed (recto/verso). It should also be noted that while the literary writing on the verso and recto are catalogued as two "texts" in accordance with the Beinecke's cataloging conventions (P.CtYBR inv. 4995[A] and 4995[B] [second



erary text, composed of a paraphrase or allusion to *Jubilees* (*Jub.*), in the same hand as 4995(A). Published below are a text, translation and commentary for the literary portions of P.CtYBR inv. 4995, i.e. texts 1 and 3, as listed above.<sup>6</sup>

The papyrus was first used by the author of the private letter. The letter, presumably sent, received and discarded, was then used by the author of the literary texts; he not only inscribed the blank side of the sheet, but also wrote in between the lines of the documentary text, demarcating his own notes from the preexisting private letter by tracing a line around his text.<sup>7</sup>

The documentary text on the recto → (Pl. 2),<sup>8</sup> is from an unknown writer to a religious figure, perhaps a monastic leader, called "my Father Petre."<sup>9</sup> In this crudely written text, the author greets various people and implores Petre to pray for him and his children. The receipt of lentils (ΔΡΩΙΝ) also figures prominently. The letter was folded seven times for sending, but no address is visible on the verso.

On the back of the letter (verso ↑) is the exegetical *florilegium* (Pl. 1). This pastiche of texts includes at least six passages (*Jubilees* is cited according to the versification of the Ethiopic version):

1. *Jub.* 8:28b-30;
2. *Jub.* 7:14-6;
3. a yet unidentified passage referring to Abraham;

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<sup>6</sup> On the two "texts" see above, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> See below.

<sup>8</sup> The cataloging designation assigned to the sides of the papyrus (A and B) do not coincide with the order in which the sides were inscribed (recto and verso); see above, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> The monastic location of father Petre is suggested by the author's frequent request: "Pray for me" τωεε εωι (sic). Such spiritual patronage is highly reminiscent of letters in fourth-century monastic archives, e.g. the archives of Paieous, Paphnouthios, and Nephros (*P.Lond.* VI; *P.Neph.*). Petre's monastic identity is not sure, however; such requests may be addressed to non-monastics as well. The identity of this Petre is unknown, and such a name is common among Egyptian monastics; see S.J. Clackson, *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* (Oxford 2000) 173; Paul Kahle, *Bala'izah* (Oxford 1954) 19.

4. a passage quoting part of *Jub.* 15:3;
5. a passage quoting Gen. 9:27a;
6. a passage alluding to *Jub.* 4:33.

The brief passage in-between the lines of the documentary text on the recto, text 3, (P.CtYBR inv. 4995 [B] [second text]) is in the same hand and is thematically related to episodes in *Jubilees*, although it does not appear to reproduce any passage represented in the Ethiopic version.

The papyrus is written in single column leaving very limited margins. The papyrus is not lined or pricked, and the lines of text vary in size, spacing, and direction.<sup>10</sup> The script is upright and uncial, with 3-stroke M; wide ε, o and c; tall P and q; and short γ. ζ is predominantly bilinear, only occasionally descending below the line. The scribe uses both single-letter and connective superlineation, tremas, logical punctuation (in the form of raised points and colons), and lectional signs (diples and horizontal strokes). Each paragraph is set off by indentation (approximately the width of one letter N) and a paragraphus (indicated by | in the transcription). The ends of paragraphs are also marked with lectional signs (indicated by >>— in the transcription). In comparison with the admittedly meager corpus of dated Coptic documents, both the literary hand (on the verso and recto) and the documentary hand (on the recto) resemble texts from the archive of Paieous (*P.Lond.* VI 1920, 1921, 1922), as determined by the basic paleographical features described above. The Paeious papyri are dated by their editor, W.E. Crum, to the 330s. I therefore suggest that a fourth or early fifth-century dating of the Yale *florilegium* is most likely. A fourth or fifth-century date is furthermore consistent with non-palaeographical features of the text, including both the orthographic features of

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<sup>10</sup> In the following description I roughly follow the descriptive criteria laid out in Bentley Layton, *A Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906* (London 1987) liv-lxvi.

the text<sup>11</sup> and the pseudepigraphic genre of the text, so typical of literary production of the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

P.CtYBR inv. 4995(A)

- |    |  |                   |
|----|--|-------------------|
|    | ΔΥΤΩΘΕΝΜΔ ΕΙ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΥΙΟ—  | <i>Jub.</i> 8:28b |
|    | ΟΥΕ · ΕΔΝΠΠΤΟΥ ΝΩΡΑΦΔ · ΔΥΩ  |                   |
|    | ΥΚΩΤΕ · ΕΠΕΜΩΙΤ · ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΠΚΔ[Ω]  | <i>Jub.</i> 8:29  |
| 4  | ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΔΦΕΤ · ΜΝΝΕΥ—<br>ΩΗΡΕ ΩΝΟΥΚΛΗΡΟC ΝΟΥΚΛΗΡΟ—<br>ΝΟΜΙΑ · ΜΜΔΟΥΩΩ ΝΩΔΕΝΕΩ<br>ΝΔΥ ΜΝΝΕΥΚΕΩΗΡΕ · ΕΝΕΥ— |                   |
| 8  | ΓΕΝΕΔ ΝΩΔΕΝΕΩ · ΩΝΝΟC<br>ΝΝΗCOC ΜΜΟΥ Η ΩΝΟΥΩΩ<br>ΕΥΝΑΡΤ ΝΝΗΠΕ · ΔΥΩ ΟΥΝΟC<br>ΝΚΔΩ ΕΥΟΥΩΩC ΕΒΟΛ ΩΜΠCΔ           |                   |
| 12 | ΜΠΕ . . . [ . . . ] ± 8 [<br>ΙΔΦΕΤ ΥΟCΒ : ΔΥΩ ΠΚΔΥ [Ν]<br>Ι ΧΔΜ ΥΤΩΩΜΕ : ΠΚΔΩ ΔΕ ΩΩΥ<br>ΝCHM ΟΥΔ[Ε] ΝΥΡΟΚΩ ΔΝ  |                   |
| 16 | ΕΥΤΩΩΩΩ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΥΤΩΩΩ ΔΝ<br>ΔΛΛΔ ΠΕ ± [<br>ΩΕ ΩΝΤΩΩΜΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΩCΒ >>—<br>Ι ΧΔΜ ΔΥΚΩΤ ΤΠΟΧΙC ΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ                 | <i>Jub.</i> 7:14  |
| 20 | Ε[Π]ΕCΡΔΝ ΜΠΡΔΝ ΝΤΕΥCΩΙΜΕ ΔΕ—<br>[Ν]ΕΩΕΛΔΘΜΔΟΥΚ : ΔΥΩ ΙΔΦΕΤ  | <i>Jub.</i> 7:15  |

<sup>11</sup> Such features are discussed in Kahle, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 108 §80D; 52-3 §1A; 91 §63c; and below, especially p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Apocryphal and pseudepigraphic texts were translated in the same circles as those who undertook early (i.e. fourth-century) biblical texts, see Tito Orlandi, "Literature, Coptic," in Aziz Atiya (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York 1991) 1450-60.





9  $\overline{\text{M}}\text{MOY}$ : an alternative spelling of  $\text{MOY}\epsilon$  or "island" (*CD*, 160b), the Coptic translation of  $\nu\eta\text{coc}$ , which precedes it. This is either an expanded attributive, further qualifying  $\mathfrak{Z}\overline{\text{N}}\text{NO}\mathfrak{C}\ \overline{\text{N}}\text{NHCO}\mathfrak{C}$ , or an appositional phrase that provides the Coptic equivalent of  $\nu\eta\text{coc}$ .

$\mathfrak{Z}\overline{\text{N}}\text{OY}\omega\mathfrak{Z}$ : see l. 8.

12 The line falls on one of the folds from the private letter and is very fragmentary. In the absence of a parallel text apart from the Ethiopic version, I have not attempted to reconstruct the Coptic text, with the exception of a few words that are clearly necessary.

14 The scribe has mistakenly placed a paragraphus (indicated by ¶ in the edition) in the margin preceding  $\chi\Delta\text{M}$ . This falls not at the beginning of a passage (cf. ll. 19 and 28) but in the middle of an attributive clause. The scribe apparently confused  $\chi\Delta\text{M}$  in l. 19 with the  $\chi\Delta\text{M}$  of l. 14.

$\mathfrak{Z}\omega\mathfrak{q}$ : for  $\mathfrak{Z}\omega\omega\mathfrak{q}$ , see Kahle, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 91 §63c: a orthographic variant "extraordinarily rare in later texts, either literary or documentary." Cf.  $\mathfrak{Z}\omega\omega\mathfrak{q}$  in l. 25.

17 The line falls on a fold in the papyrus, and is for the most part illegible; see l. 12.

18 The end of the passage is marked in the right margin by a straight paragraphus with two diple, indicated by >>— in the edition.

19 Another passage begins here, and is highlighted by indentation and a zeta-shaped paragraphus. This portion of the papyrus corresponds to *Jub.* 7:14-6 in the Ethiopic version. Although taken out of order (according to the Ethiopic version), the two passages from *Jubilees* make narrative sense as arranged in the present text.

21  $[\text{N}]\epsilon\mathfrak{Z}\epsilon\chi\lambda\theta\text{M}\Delta\text{OYK}$ : Eth. *nê'êlâtmâk*; Syr. Frag. *nhlmḥwq*.

22  $\text{KO}\mathfrak{Z}$ : for  $\text{K}\omega\mathfrak{Z}$ , Kahle, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 90 §61.

23  $\mathfrak{Z}\omega\mathfrak{q}$ : for  $\mathfrak{Z}\omega\omega\mathfrak{q}$ , see l. 14.

25  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\theta\text{NECC}$ : Eth. *'adâtnêsês*; Syr. Frag. *'dntns'*. The name may have been derived from Athens; see Isaac, "Japheth," *ABD*, 642.

26 The text omits part of *Jub.* 7:16 according to the Ethiopic version. The Ethiopic reads (omitted portion in italics), "*But Shem remained with his father Noah. He built a city next to his father at*



*the mountain*. He, too, named it after his wife Sedeqetelebab" (trans. VanderKam). There does not appear to be a parallel to this omission in the Ethiopic recensions.

27 Ⲭⲉⲁⲉⲕⲁⲟⲗⲙⲃⲁⲃ: Eth. *sêdêqêtelelâb*, Syr. Frag. *zđqtnbb*.

28 Another passage begins here, marked by indentation and a zeta-shaped paragraphus. Traces of two letters are visible in the abraded space after ⲁⲃⲫ[ⲁ]ⲉⲁⲙ. The traces best support ⲁⲫ.

The passage may relate to Abraham's journey from his father's land in Terah to Haran, variously described in Gen. 12 and *Jub.* 12. According to Gen.,

So Abram went, as the Lord had told him; and Lot went with him. . . . Abram took his wife Sarai and his brother's son Lot, and all the possessions that they had gathered, and the persons whom they had acquired in Haran (12:4, 5, trans. NRSV).

*Jubilees* augments the episode considerably, e.g. including a famous story in which Abraham burns his father's idols (12:12-4; cf. *Apocalypse of Abraham*). Also in this episode Abraham, previously a victim of the linguistic confusion of Babel, learns Hebrew, taught by the angel of the presence (cf. 4995[B] [second text]):

And the Lord God said: "Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which has been revealed"; for it [i.e. Hebrew] had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel). And I [i.e. the angel of the presence] opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of creation. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six rainy months (12:24-8, trans. Charles).

On the significance of the specifically Hebrew language of the scriptures, cf. l. 30 of our text below. While there are certain thematic similarities between ll. 28-9 of the Yale papyrus and other ancient texts, the passage preserved in the present manuscript, if it is indeed excerpted from another ancient author and not an original product of the present scribe, is as yet unidentified.

ⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲕⲱⲛⲧ: the scribe has corrected ⲁⲓ ⲙⲓⲡⲓⲕⲱⲛⲧ "since the creation (?)" to ⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲕⲱⲛⲧ "take/receive the customs/creatures," inscribing the correction above and below the line (cf. l. 33).

29 ΠΕΞΠΟ: for ΠΕΔΠΟ, see Kahle, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 146 §124; Clackson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 145.

31 ΜΔ ΩΩΠΕ: for ΜΔ ΝΩΩΠΕ, see l. 1.

32 Gen. 9:27 was widely cited in Christian literature as prophetic of the new covenant, although it was rarely treated extensively. See below, pp. 41-43. The author of the Yale papyrus is exceptional among Christians in his interest in the passage, especially for collecting extra-biblical proof texts.

The conclusion of this passage does not seem to follow logically from the texts cited above. The text implicitly argues that:

- (1) Japheth's territory is cold;
- (2) Shem's territory is temperate;
- (3) Japheth will reside in the dwellings of Shem.

It follows from these premises that Japheth will reside in the temperate zone, not in the cold. Yet the passage concludes, "Therefore he (Japheth) is in the cold" (ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ' ԳԶՄ ΠΩԵΒ), a conclusion that merely repeats a premise of the argument. It is likely that the Coptic negator ΔΝ was omitted from the text, possibly out of confusion with the ΔΝ in ΔΝΟΚ that directly follows (in l. 33). If this emendation is correct, the conclusion of the passage would then read, "Therefore he (Japheth) is not in the cold" (ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ' ԳԶՄΠΩԵΒ ΔΝ). This would accord nicely with the common Christian interpretation that Gen. 9:27 foretells the replacement of the Mosaic covenant (i.e. with the descendents of Shem) with the New Covenant through Jesus (i.e. with the descendents of Japheth), a prophecy already long fulfilled by the time of our present author.

33 ΦϜ: for ΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

The first half of line 33 cites yet another passage from *Jubilees*, 15:3. *Jub.* 15:3 is a quotation of Gen. 17:1; it agrees with MT ("I am Shaddai [the almighty]") rather than LXX ("I am your God").

ΜΜΕ: the scribe originally wrote ΝΤΜΕ ("of truth") and corrected it to ΜΜΕ ("true"), writing Μ above and below ΝΤ (cf. l. 28).

34 This line alludes to *Jub.* 4:33, the only pseudepigraphic text which names Noah's wife: 'emezârâ in the Ethiopic version, in the Syriac Fragment 'myzr'. A Greek scholiast (scholiast *r* in Paul de

Lagarde's *Genesis Graece* [Leipzig 1868]) also preserves her name as ἐμζαπα.

The layout of ll. 33-4 indicates that l. 34, concerning the name of Noah's wife, was written before the preceding lines. A number of features point to this: line 34 is written (i) in a larger hand than the lines preceding it, (ii) at a different angle, and (iii) with considerably more space between ll. 34 and 33 than exists between other lines directly preceding it (8mm between ll. 33 and 34, compared with 2.3mm average between lines from l. 28 to l. 33). Finally, (iv) the size of the script in l. 33 decreases considerably as it approaches the semi-circle drawn around ΖΔΡΔ. Line 33 turns up slightly at the end of the line, and is *written around the following text*. Line 34 must therefore have been written before the lines directly preceding it. Taken together with the fact that the text is written on the back of a letter (and interlinearly within it on the opposite side), and considering the numerous corrections in l. 34 (see below), the manuscript resembles a working draft, perhaps a collection of notes in preparation for an exegetical work on Genesis.

The scribe's correction at the end of l. 34 also requires explanation. Originally the scribe wrote the name of Noah's wife as ΖΔ [ . The traces of the letter after Δ do not support P. They more closely resemble the vertical stroke and part of the horizontal stroke of M. The scribe apparently made an error in the name and/or ran out of room. Above the line he then corrected the name to ΖΔΡΔ, which corresponds to the second half of the name as it occurs in *Jubilees*. Curiously, the scribe wrote ΜΜΕ, corresponding to the first half of the name of Noah's wife, in the appropriate horizontal position relative to ΖΔΡΔ, but below the line. The name of Noah's wife according to *Jubilees* may be obtained by reading from below line 34 to above it, thus yielding ΜΜΕΖΔΡΔ. It is unclear why the scribe would have written the name in such a way. Perhaps it was a later correction, inserted after l. 33 had been written and the space before ΖΔΡΔ had been fully used.

P.CtYBR inv. 4995(B) (second text)

1 The scribe has inserted a brief passage between and around the lines of the private letter (4995[B] [first text]). He has set the

passage off with horizontal and vertical lines. This passage concerns an "angel of the presence," a figure common in post-biblical Jewish literature, yet absent from the Hebrew Bible.<sup>13</sup> Angels of the presence figure prominently in *Jubilees*. According to the author of *Jubilees*, angels of the presence constituted the highest class of angels, their merit signified by circumcision, a covenantal marking not shared by lower angels.<sup>14</sup> In *Jubilees* an angel of the presence plays an especially important role—it is an angel of the presence who reveals the *Book of Jubilees* to Moses (2:1). The angel of the presence is also credited with a number of interventions that are attributed to God in the Bible. Notable among them is *Jub.* 12:22 (parallel to Gen. 12:1), in which it is the angel of the presence who tells Abraham to leave the land of his fathers (cf. ll. 28-29). The lines of P.CtYBR inv. 4995(B) (second text) may allude to one such passage, although the text ("And the angel of the presence stood") does not appear to be a direct citation of a text extant in the Ethiopic version. The LXX, however, describes the "angel of the Lord," an earlier title for the same angel, as "standing" (ἵστημι), cf. Num. 22:22, 24; 1 Chr. 21:15; Zech. 3:5.

#### EXCURSUS

#### P.CTYBR INV. 4995, THE *BOOK OF JUBILEES* AND EARLY CHRISTIAN CHRONOGRAPHY

#### *The Book of Jubilees*

A few words about *Jubilees* are in order. *Jubilees*, *leptê Genesis* in Greek ("small" or "detailed Genesis"<sup>15</sup>), ranks among the most

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<sup>13</sup> Literally, "angel of the face" in both Hebrew and Coptic (ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΕΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ). VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield 2001) 87-9, describes the angels of the presence and lists some of their occurrences in intertestamental Jewish texts.

<sup>14</sup> More information may be found in VanderKam, *op.cit.*, 87-9.

<sup>15</sup> The proper translation of *leptê Genesis* is discussed by Simon Franklin, "A Note on a Pseudepigraphical Allusion in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 4365," *Vetus Testamentum* 48 (1998) 95-6; cf. J.R. Rea on *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4365.

significant works of Jewish pseudepigrapha. *Jubilees* takes its name from its peculiar chronological arrangement, dividing history into the cumbersome forty-nine year unit of a 'jubilee'.<sup>16</sup> Composed in Hebrew perhaps between 160 and 150 BCE, *Jubilees* paraphrases Genesis and Exodus 1-24, supplementing the biblical narrative with a wealth of other traditional materials. The author does not clearly indicate which Jewish sect he supported, if any; but whatever his own sectarian agenda, *Jubilees* was later highly regarded by the Qumran community, which preserved several copies of the book (all very fragmentary).

The textual transmission of *Jubilees* is complicated, but well documented.<sup>17</sup> The original Hebrew text was translated into Greek and possibly into Syriac. Both of these versions have been lost, apart from quotations preserved in some early Christian chronographers.<sup>18</sup> The Greek text was translated into Latin, of which approximately one quarter survives. The Greek text was also translated into Ethiopic. Since *Jubilees* is considered authoritative in the Abyssinian Church, the Ethiopic version preserves the complete text of *Jubilees* in at least twenty-seven manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> The Coptic papyrus may thus be added to the corpus of versional witnesses to *Jubilees*. The passages preserved in the Yale papyrus are all the more valuable since they quote passages not preserved in any other fragmentary version.

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<sup>16</sup> A jubilee is often described by the author of *Jubilees* as "seven weeks of years." The calculation of biblical history by more or less strict chronological schemes is a common feature of Jewish pseudepigrapha (cf. 1 Enoch). This made pseudepigrapha an attractive source for some Christian chronographers in dating significant events, e.g. the creation of the world, the flood, the birth of Christ. For more on Christian chronography, especially that produced in fourth-century Egypt, see below pp. 41-4.

<sup>17</sup> *Jubilees'* textual transmission is covered *in extenso* by James VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*. CSCO 510-511. *Scriptores Aethiopici* 87 (Louvain 1989) 1:ix-xvi; 2:vi-xxxi. Also see VanderKam, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 13-7.

<sup>18</sup> All versional evidence (apart from the present text) is published in VanderKam's critical edition of the Ethiopic text, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (above, n. 17).

<sup>19</sup> VanderKam, *op.cit.* xviii-xix.

The present understanding of the transmission of *Jubilees* may furthermore be altered to allow for the possibility that the entire book was also translated from Greek into Coptic. The possibility of a Coptic version of *Jubilees*, while by no means certain, should not be discounted. The Coptic corpus of Jewish and Christian apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature is extensive; it is certainly conceivable that an expansion and paraphrase of Genesis, such as *Jubilees*, would have found an interested audience among Coptic literati of Late Antiquity. A private letter indicates that the (presumably) Greek translation, at the very least, circulated in Middle Egypt in the fourth century:

To my dearest lady sister, greetings in the Lord. Lend the Ezra, since I lent you the little Genesis (i.e. *Jubilees*). Farewell in God from us.<sup>20</sup>

And from the chronographies of the Egyptian monks Panodorus and Annianus it is also evident that *Jubilees* circulated in Egypt's monastic communities in the fourth century.<sup>21</sup> It is the monastery that is the most likely locus for the translation of Coptic biblical and pseudepigraphic literature.<sup>22</sup> So the existence of a full Coptic translation of *Jubilees* must be considered a possibility, although it is not strictly necessary to account for the testimonia preserved in the Yale papyrus.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4365, trans. J.R. Rea, altered in light of Simon Franklin, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15).

<sup>21</sup> See below, pp. 42-4.

<sup>22</sup> David Frankfurter notes the diversity of literary traditions within early monastic scriptoria of Coptic speaking Egypt, a literary corpus that included works (like *Jubilees*) that integrated "Egyptian and Jewish and Christian literary forms," such as the pseudepigraphic *Apocalypse of Elijah*; see *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998) 263-4. He writes (264), "Both with and without Egypt one can see the exceptional diversity of literature read, copied, composed, and valued in monastic scriptoria, as reflected in manuscripts, book lists, and patristic testimony that was often quite polemical. One can only surmise that the scribal enterprise itself in Coptic monasticism—interest among literate monks of any sort—was voracious." The use of *Jubilees* by the influential monastic chronographers Panodorus and Annianus is discussed in more detail below, pp. 42-4.

<sup>23</sup> In fact, many of the later Greek witnesses, such as the Byzantine chronographers Syncellus (late eighth century) and Cedrenus (twelfth century), certainly depended on intermediary sources, rather than on the complete Greek text

## Early Christian Exegesis and Chronography

The papyrus also reflects the exegetical program and compositional process of an early Christian writer in Egypt. As mentioned above, the text's subject is the post-diluvial division of lands, or *diamerismos*. According to the primeval history of Genesis, the ethnic, linguistic, and religious demarcations apparent in the ancient world could be traced to the period directly following the flood, to the birthrights of the patriarch Noah's three sons: Shem, Japheth, and Ham.<sup>24</sup> In the biblical account, after the flood waters receded Noah bequeathed the now depopulated earth to his three sons. Shem, the eldest son and eponymous ancestor of the Semitic-speaking peoples, received what corresponds to Persia, Mesopotamia and Arabia. Japheth, the middle son,<sup>25</sup> took the "coastland," i.e. Asia Minor and Greece. And the youngest son Ham received what corresponds to Canaan and Africa. Through this primeval division of the earth among the three sons of Noah the world was divided,

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of *Jubilees*; see William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington 1989). That being said, these Byzantine chronographers were largely dependent on *Egyptian chronographers* of the fourth and fifth centuries, i.e. Panodorus and Annianus (floruit ca. 388-416 A.D.). These Christian monastics apparently had access to the complete text of *Jubilees*, in addition to the complete texts of many other pseudepigraphic writings, some of which are no longer extant.

<sup>24</sup> A curiosity about human geography was by no means unique to the ancient Israelites. Later Greek and Roman intellectuals, geographers, and ethnographers shared an interest in the genealogical origins of ethnic and linguistic difference. Ancient geographies and their relation to Jewish geographies (especially that of *Jubilees*) are surveyed in P. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 33 (1982) 197-213; J. Scott, "The Division of the Earth in Jubilees 8.11-9.15 and Early Christian Chronography," in M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*. TSAJ 65 (Tübingen 1997) 295-323.

<sup>25</sup> The birth order of the three sons is somewhat confused in the narrative composition of Genesis. Because Gen. 9:24 clearly describes Ham as the "youngest son," commentators as early as the Rabbis have struggled with the order in which they are named in 9:18 and 10:1 (Shem, Ham, and Japheth), an order frequently taken to indicate the order of their birth.

"and from these the nations spread abroad on the earth after the flood" (Gen. 10:32).<sup>26</sup>

The ethnic division of the earth in Genesis was of special interest to Jewish and Christian interpreters.<sup>27</sup> Not merely at stake was the explanation of linguistic and physiognomical difference. Rather, implicit in the biblical account are core issues of religious history: God's selection of a chosen people, their historical grounding in a particular land, and the possible framework for interaction between God's people and others. Thus, many Jewish and Christian interpreters attempted to expand and explain the obscure and inconsistent text of Gen. 9-10. Such interpretations are found in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period<sup>28</sup> and Rabbinic Midrash.<sup>29</sup> Christian writers as well saw in the interpretation of Gen. 9-10 one of the critical prophecies of the new covenant; it supplanted the primeval covenant between God and the descendants of Shem, with a new covenant between God and the descendants of Japheth.<sup>30</sup>

The text edited here belongs to this tradition of biblical exegesis. Yet among the chorus of interpreters, the Yale papyrus stands out in two ways. First, our author—even in the brief fragment ex-

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<sup>26</sup> Trans. NRSV. Greek geographers of the fifth century BCE even shared certain geographical ideas with the authors of Genesis, in particular the division of the earth into three main parts: Europe, Asia and Africa. See Alexander, *op.cit.* (above, n. 24) 198-9.

<sup>27</sup> Some such ancient interpreters include the historian Josephus, various apocalyptic writers, the Rabbis, and Christian writers such as Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen, and Eusebius; see Ephraim Isaac, "Japheth," *ABD*, 641-2.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. the *Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus and various pseudepigraphic works, including the *Third Sybilline Oracle*, the *Book of Noah*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen), the *War Scroll* (1QM), and the *Book of Jubilees*. The *Book of Noah*, no longer extant, may have been a common source to *Jubilees* and other pseudepigraphic texts, Scott, *op.cit.* (above, n. 24) 300-3.

<sup>29</sup> Some Rabbinic midrashic interpretations are collected by Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia 1909) 1:170, 5:192. Rabbinic interpreters variously understood the passage to foretell the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple under Cyrus of Persia and the attraction of gentile converts to Rabbinic academies, among others.

<sup>30</sup> Representative examples may be found in Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 139; and Augustine, *City of God* 16.1. For more see Isaac, *op.cit.* (above, n. 27).



tant—displays a greater interest in detailed exegesis of Gen. 9-10 than is usual among Christians exegeting the biblical text.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the manuscript's preliminary or ephemeral character—written on a used document, and interspersed with corrections and textual insertions that would make little sense to anyone other than the scribe himself<sup>32</sup>—suggests that the text reflects a 'work in progress,' the notes or rough beginnings of an exegetical work on Gen. 9-10, whether that be chronography, history, homily, or florilegium.

It is interesting to note that within the extensive corpus of Christian commentators on the Genesis prehistory, this text shares much in common with Christian chronography from fourth and fifth-century Egypt; this is especially true of the text's interest in the great flood and its reliance upon Jewish pseudepigrapha. Ancient Christian chronography arguably reached its highest level of sophistication in Late Antiquity with the work of the Alexandrian chronographers Panodorus and Annianus.<sup>33</sup> Both Annianus and Panodorus (the latter is the more original and significant of the two) were Christian monastics in Alexandria, who wrote independently of one another during the administration of Theophilus bishop of Alexandria (ca. 388-416). Among the goals of Panodorus's project was to correct what he saw as blatant errors in the chronography of Eusebius of Caesarea. In Panodorus's estimation, Eusebius miscalculated all the watershed moments of sacred history: the creation of the world, the covenant on Mt. Sinai, the flood, and the birth of Christ. Panodorus therefore attempted to fix biblical dates more "scientifically" by concordng the biblical evidence with Egyptian and Babylonian chronographies, as well as with Jewish pseudepigrapha. In fact, a reliance on Jewish pseudepigrapha set Panodorus

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<sup>31</sup> According to Isaac, "In the early Christian literature . . . the sons of Noah and their generations are often alluded to but without much elaboration," *op.cit.* 642.

<sup>32</sup> See the note to line 34 of this text in the commentary above.

<sup>33</sup> I would like to thank Kevin van Bladel of Yale University for, in another context, introducing me to the rather shadowy figures of Panodorus and Annianus, who also left their imprint on the broad field of Islamic chronography. The profound impact of the fourth-century Egyptian chronographers on Christian literature is documented in Adler, *op.cit.* (above, n. 23) esp. 72-158.

apart from other Christian chronographers.<sup>34</sup> Among the pseudepigrapha that informed Panodorus's exegesis of the Bible was *Jubilees*.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, as a result of his theological leanings of questionable orthodoxy, Panodorus's brilliant chronography has been lost. Nonetheless, it exerted an undeniable influence on later Christian chronographers. Since the passages cited in the Yale papyrus are without parallel in Greek, Latin, or Syriac versions, there is unfortunately no text-critical evidence with which to evaluate what possible relationship its author may have had to contemporary Egyptian chronographers. Yet the commonalities between Alexandrian chronographers of the fourth century and the author of the Yale papyrus—a special interest in the *diamerismos*, a dependence upon Jewish pseudepigrapha, and a connection to Egyptian monasticism<sup>36</sup>—are none the less tantalizing.

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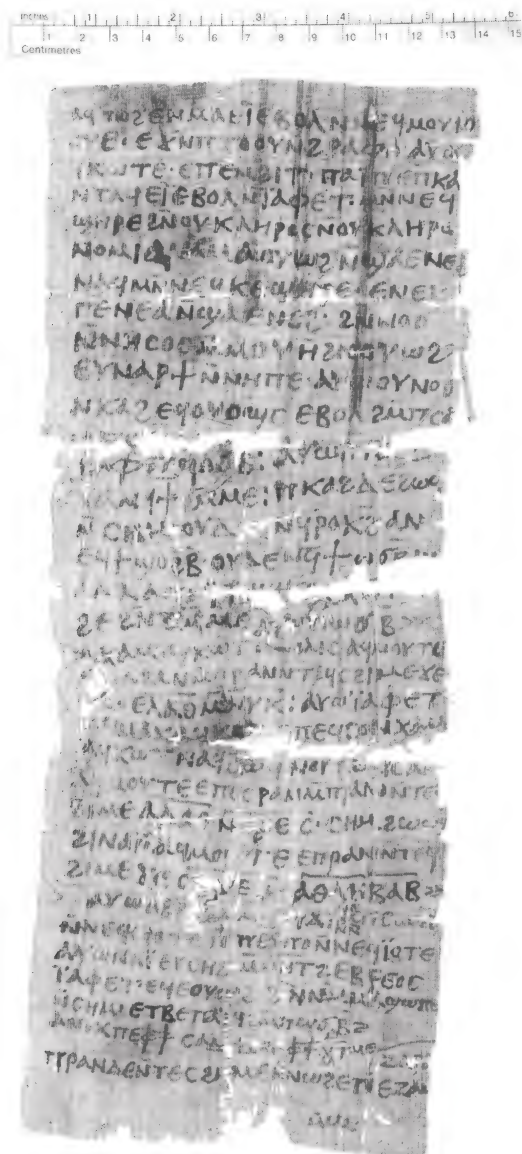
<sup>34</sup> According to Adler, "Probably the most original and distinctive aspect of his reconstruction of the primordial calendar is his wide-ranging appeal to Jewish pseudepigrapha of the Second-Temple Period," *op.cit.* 80. Augustine also stands out in devoting considerable space to the exegesis of Gen. 9-10 (*City of God* 16.1-2); see n. 30 above.

<sup>35</sup> It is most likely that late Byzantine chronographers, such as Cedrenus and Syncellus, had access to Jubilees through the chronographies of Panodorus and Annianus; see n. 21 above. Panodorus used *Jubilees* among many other pseudepigraphic works, especially *1 Enoch*.

<sup>36</sup> For the probable monastic locus of the text, see above, p. 28.

(to Crislip, "The Book of Jubilees ...")

Plate 1

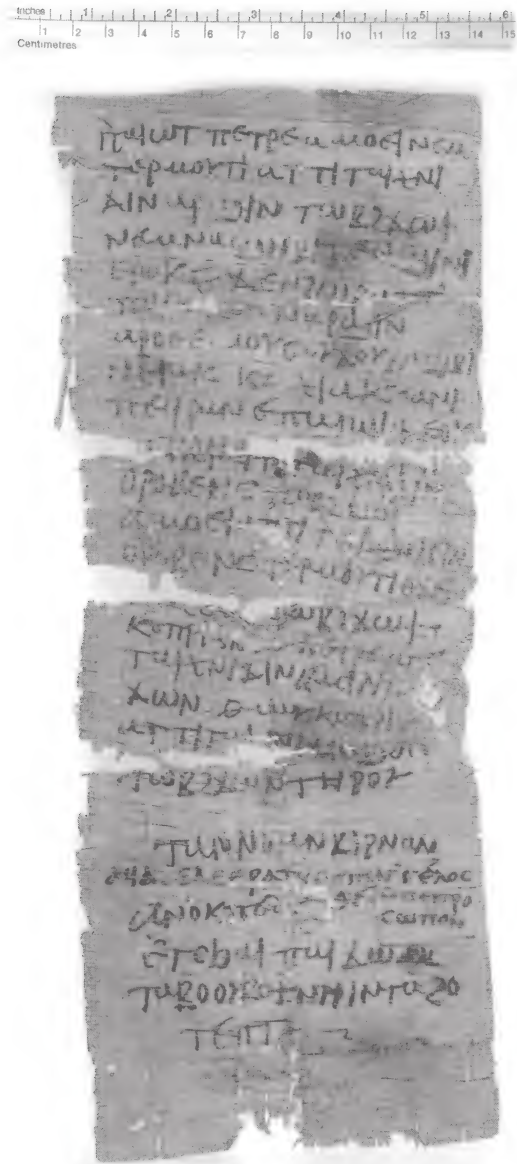


P.CtYBR inv. 4995v

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Plate 2

(to Crislip, "The Book of Jubilees ...")



P.CtYBR inv. 4995r

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*P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]:*  
Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-  
Apokalypse\*

Die im Laufe der Untersuchung des Bifoliums eines Pergamentkodex der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, dessen Inventarnummer nunmehr *P.Vindob.G 39756* lautet,<sup>1</sup> gesammelten Beobachtungen motivierten mich zu einer eingehenderen Beschäftigung mit der Petrus-Apokalypse, insbesondere den beiden zu einem Kodex gehörenden Fragmenten aus Wien und Oxford (*Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*).<sup>2</sup> Zudem werden diese und weitere Ergebnisse in einer kritischen Edition der griechischen Manuskripte der Petrus-Evangeliums und der Petrus-apokalypse eingehen, die fortan als Ausgangspunkt für weitere Arbeiten über diese beiden christlichen apokryphen Texte, dabei auch unter Berücksichtigung der eigentlichen Realien dienen.<sup>3</sup>

Da jedoch einerseits der Darbietung der einzelnen Fragmente in der kritischen Edition annähernd vergleichbarer Umfang einge-

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\* Nicht zuletzt für die Ermöglichung der Arbeit am Original, der Bereitstellung einer Qualitätsfotografie des betreffenden Papyrus und wertvoller Auskünfte sei Hermann Harrauer von der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien, herzlich gedankt. Unzulänglichkeiten sind mir als Autor dieser Studie allein anzulasten.

<sup>1</sup> Bei J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*. Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1 (Paris 1976) Nr. 619 noch als "*P. Vindob. G ?*"

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. T.J. Kraus, "Acherousia und Elysion: Anmerkungen im Hinblick auf deren Verwendung auch im christlichen Kontext," *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003) 145-53; *Eund.*, "Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe," *Apocrypha* 14 (2003; im Druck).

<sup>3</sup> Die Edition wird voraussichtlich 2004 als Doppelband erscheinen und besteht in erster Linie aus Transkriptionen, Übersetzungen in deutscher und englischer Sprache, paläographischen Beschreibungen wie auch Faksimiles der Realien selbst. T.J. Kraus/T. Nicklas, *Die griechischen Handschriften des sogenannten Petrus-Evangeliums. Die griechischen Handschriften der sogenannten Petrus-Apokalypse*. GCS 11 (Berlin 2003).

räumt wird und manche Beobachtung allenfalls summarisch Erwähnung finden wird, andererseits nach wie vor eine ausführliche paläographische Beschreibung der beiden Pergament-Fragmente fehlt,<sup>4</sup> zudem nach wie vor Bezug genommen wird auf die unzureichenden frühen Transkriptionen,<sup>5</sup> lege ich eine Neuedition der beiden Stücke hier vor. Dabei folge ich der Chronologie der Bearbeitung, will heißen, der zuerst von mir untersuchte *P.Vindob. G 39756* kommt vor *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*, obgleich die Zuordnung zur sogenannten Petrus-Apokalypse in umgekehrter Reihe erfolgte.

Als Abschluss stehen noch einige grundsätzliche Rückschlüsse, die mit Hilfe der beiden Pergament-Fragmente möglich bzw. zu weiteren Diskussionen führen werden.

<i>P.Vindob. G 39756</i> +	5.3 cm x 7.5 cm	Zweite Hälfte V
<i>Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]</i>	Plates 3-4	Fundort ? <sup>6</sup>

Der Pergament-Codex, zu dem die beiden Fragmente *P.Vindob. G 39756* und *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]* gehören, bildet neben dem entsprechenden Teil des Akhmîm-Codex, *P.Cair. 10759*, den einzigen als identifiziert angesehenen griechischen Textzeugen der sogenannten Petrus-Apokalypse.<sup>7</sup> Das Fragment der *Bodleian*

<sup>4</sup> Auch nach der Neuedition durch P. van Minnen, "The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*," in J.N. Bremmer/I. Czachesz (eds.), *The Apocalypse of Peter. Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 7* (Leuven 2003) bes. 34-9 (Foto des Bodleian Fragments 39). Ihm gebührt mein Dank für die freundliche Überlassung des Manuskripts im Laufe des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, den fruchtbaren Austausch per Email und die Übersendung von Korrekturen. Zudem sandte mir dankenswerterweise Jan N. Bremmer das Manuskript des vollständigen Bandes kurz vor dessen Veröffentlichung zu.

<sup>5</sup> So T. Adamik, "The Description of Paradise in the *Apocalypse of Peter*," in Bremmer/Czachesz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 83-4; 87. Das überrascht umso mehr, da im selben Band Peter van Minnens Neuedition abgedruckt ist.

Fotos nun in: Bremmer/Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter* (above, n. 4) 39 (*Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*) und 89-90 (*P.Vindob. G 39756*).

<sup>6</sup> Bei van Haelst, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) findet sich für das Wiener Fragment unter Nr. 619 "Oxyrhynchos (?)", für das Bodleian unter Nr. 620 "Provenance inconnu".

<sup>7</sup> So hält James das im Akhmîm-Codex Erhaltene für einen Abschnitt, in dem das Petrus-Evangelium die Petrus-Apokalypse weitgehen zitiert. Gestützt

*Library* in Oxford wurde 1894 erworben und 1911 von M.R. James veröffentlicht,<sup>8</sup> das Fragment der *Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* kam in den achtziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts nach Wien (damals Sammlung *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*) und wurde von C. Wessely im Jahr 1924 publiziert, der darin allerdings noch ein Stück der Petrus-Akten sah.<sup>9</sup> F.J. Dölger<sup>10</sup> und vor allem K. Prümm<sup>11</sup> identifizierten es dann als Teil der Petrus-Apokalypse, wiederum James veröffentlichte es neu und schloss, dass beide Pergamente ein und demselben Codex entstammen.<sup>12</sup> Anhand der vorliegenden Fotografien kann dies anhand eines Buchstabenvergleichs sowie der Gemeinsamkeit an Dimension sowie Zeilenzahl (13) und Zeilenlänge (zwischen 8 und 13 Buchstaben) bestätigt werden.<sup>13</sup>

Insbesondere anhand von *P. Vindob. G 39756* lassen sich nähere Angaben zu diesem Codex machen. Hierbei handelt es sich um ein Bifolium, das auf allen vier Seiten beschrieben ist. Der Größe nach gehört der anhand des Doppelblattes genauer zu beschreibende Codex zu der von E.G. Turner ausgewiesenen Gruppe der Miniaturcodices, beträgt die Seitenbreite des Folio nur 5,3 cm, die Seitenhöhe 7,8 cm.<sup>14</sup> Das Pergament selbst ist fein, die Schrift der Rückseite schimmert bisweilen durch, insbesondere  $\pi\omega$  von  $\pi\omega\iota\eta\varsigma\omega$

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wird dies durch Clem. Alex. *ecl.* 48,1-49,1 (GCS 17<sup>2</sup>, 150,8-17). Vgl. M.R. James, "The Recovery of the Apocalypse of Peter," *CQR* 159 (1915) 21-3.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. M.R. James, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter," *JThS* 12 (1911) 157; 367-9.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus* 2. PO 18,3 (Paris 1924) 482-3.

<sup>10</sup> Ohne weitere Angaben weist Dölger auf den Zusammenhang zwischen dem Wiener Fragment und der Petrusapokalypse hin. Vgl. F.J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis. Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum*. LWGF 16/17 (Münster 1972<sup>3</sup>) 354 Anm. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. K. Prümm, "De genuino Apocalypsis Petri textu," *Bib.* 10 (1929) 77-80.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. M.R. James, "The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter," *JThS* 32 (1931) 270-9.

<sup>13</sup> So auch im Ergebnis van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 34.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 29-30 ("Breadth Less Than 10 cm").

auf Folio 2, rektro, das auf Folio 2, verso als op erkennbar ist. Die Tinte ist dunkelbraun und meist noch kräftig erhalten. Im unteren Drittel ist das Wiener Bifolium nachgedunkelt (Stock- oder Feuchtigkeitsfleck), stärker noch entlang des umlaufenden Abbruchrandes. Dennoch ist der Text nahezu vollständig erhalten und ohne größere Probleme lesbar. Der obere Rand ist maximal 1 cm, der untere max. 1,5 cm breit. Links ist wegen des Abbruchs noch max. 0,5 cm Rand erhalten, rechts reicht der Text meist genau an den Rand heran. Zudem ist der Zeilenbeginn bündig gehalten, das Zeilenende jedoch nicht (vgl. v.a. F. 1, verso und F. 2, rektro).

Anders der Erhaltungszustand des Bodleian Fragments: Durch Abrieb ging viel Text verloren, was vor allem die Lesung des verso problematisch macht. Doch die Abschnitte 33-34 des Textes des Akhmîm-Codex (*P.Cair.* 10759) helfen bei der Rekonstruktion. Vorhanden ist hier nurmehr der sichelförmige Rest eines beidseitig beschriebenen Folio ohne linken und rechten Rand, allerdings mit oberen und unteren Rand.

Die Buchstaben nehmen im Großen und Ganzen gleich viel Raum ein (breiter aber  $\mu$  und v.a.  $\omega$ ),  $\upsilon$  und  $\rho$  durchstoßen die Zeilenlinie nach unten, die anderen stehen auf der Zeile selbst, also auch durchschnittlich großes  $o$ , das wie  $\epsilon$ ,  $\vartheta'$ , und  $c$  rund ist. Nach oben hin ist  $a$  zugespitzt. Bei  $\kappa$  sind Auf- und Abstrich nicht mit der Vertikallinie verbunden,  $\mu$  ist in vier Strichen ausgeführt. Außerdem unterscheidet der Schreiber zwischen dicken und feinen Strichen (so v.a.  $\delta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\pi$  mit feinen Horizontal-,  $\nu$  Diagonalstrichen), wohl aufgrund einer gewissen Neigung des Schreibgeräts. Eine Tendenz zur Verwendung von Häkchen ist vorhanden, insbesondere bei  $\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$  und  $\tau$ .

Dabei bildet das  $\epsilon$  ein auffälliges Charakteristikum der Schreiberhand. Wessely gibt unzutreffenderweise Kommata in seiner Transkription an (F. 1, verso ll. 6.7.9; F. 2, rektro l. 3).<sup>15</sup> Das lässt sich unschwer am Original von *P.Vindob.G* 39756 selbst beobachten. Dass es jedesmal ein  $\epsilon$  ist, dem ein Komma folgt, mag zunächst Zufall sein. Doch andere Stellen mit  $\epsilon$  zeigen diese Ausformung mit vermeintlichem Komma-Häkchen selbst mitten in der Zeile, mitten

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<sup>15</sup> Neuerdings nunmehr bestätigt durch van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 34-5 Anm. 40.



im Wort, vielmehr noch, ergibt sich eine sehr häufige Schreibung des ε mit Häkchen am unteren Bogen (zur Verdeutlichung mit Kommata nach ε):

*P. Vindob. G 39756*

F. 1, rekto: l. 3 ἐ,κ'κλε; l. 5 ἐ,άν; l. 7 κολάσε,ωc; l. 10 ἐ,ν; l. 11 Ἀχε,ρουcία[c; l. 13 ἐ,ν

F. 1, verso: l. 3 με,τά; l. 6 λε,ύcoμαι; l. 9 λιῶντε,c; l. 11 ε,ίc; l. 13 β]αcιλει,αν

F. 2, rekto: l. 2 ἐ,πα[γ; l. 5 ἐ,γώ; l. 12 πορε,ύου; l. 13 ε,ίc

F. 2, verso: l. 3 ἐ, τό; l. 4 ἐ,πηγ; l. 5 γε,ιλάμην; l. 12 δε,κτόc

*Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*

rekto: l. 5 ε,[μ- (?); l. 6: πρ]οcθε,ν; l. 13 ἐ,γγύc

Das ε wird dabei dann in vier Strichen geschrieben, wobei der obere Strich immer etwas dicker endet. Das mag mit der Neigung zu tun haben, mit welcher der Schreiber seinen κάλαμος hält und wie folgt entstanden sein: Um nun auch unten einen ähnlich dicken Strich herbeizuführen, muss der Schreiber nochmals einen gesonderten Strich ausführen, da ansonsten bei dergleichen Neigung des Utensils nur ein dünner Strich entstehen würde. Diesen gesonderten Strich muss er nun nach unten bzw. zurück ziehen. So kommt es dann dazu, dass diese Striche einige Male nicht mehr am ε anschließen und wie Kommata aussehen.

Anzumerken bleibt aber auch, dass anderenorts das Häkchen gut mit dem dritten Strich des ε verschmolzen ist (z.B. F. 1, rekto l. 11; F. 2, rekto l. 3; l. 4; *Bodl.*, rekto l. 2; l. 7; verso l. 10) oder nur in drei Strichen ausgeführt wurde (so fehlt das Häkchen F. 1, verso l. 5; *Bodl.*, verso l. 13). Dennoch kann man die oben beschriebene Ausführung des ε als Stileigentümlichkeit des Schreibers festhalten.

Diese Beobachtungen führen zu *Brit. Lib., Cod. Cotton Otho B. VI*, der sogenannten "Cotton Genesis,"<sup>16</sup> die im Stil der aufrechten biblischen Majuskel gehalten ebenso die spezifische Form des ε, die Unterscheidung von dicken und feinen Strichen und die Tendenz zu dekorativen Häkchen oder Verdickungen am Strichende, um nur einige Charakteristika zu nennen, aufweist und mit der ich den Kodex *P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]* vergleiche. Mit Hilfe von *P.Berol. 6794* und *Cod.Theol.gr. 31* der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, der sogenannten Wiener Genesis, lässt sich die Datierung des hier behandelten Kodex zudem nach oben hin abgrenzen, da beide ein leicht späteres Stadium der biblischen Majuskel darzustellen scheinen.<sup>17</sup> Ähnlichkeiten zeigen auch *P.Ant. II 58* und *65*,<sup>18</sup> die beide eine leicht frühere Stufe des Stils zu bieten scheinen bzw. zeitgleich mit dem hier behandelten Kodex sein können. Deshalb setze ich den Kodex als zeitgleich mit der sogenannten "Cotton Genesis" an und datiere ihn ebenso auf die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts. Der Schriftstil der "Cotton Genesis" wie der Antinoopolis-Pergamente verweist in Richtung Alexandria als Herkunftsort, weshalb auch *P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]* von dort stammen könnten.<sup>19</sup> Einer ursprünglich ägyptischen Herkunft der Petrus-Apokalypse gebe ich aufgrund anderen Orts angeführter Argumente und Vergleichstexte den Vorzug vor einer —jedoch durchaus möglichen—Abfassung in Palästina.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Mit van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 34-5. Zur "Cotton Genesis" G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence 1967) 85-7 u. Taf. 75b; K. Weitzmann/H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*. Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology 45 (Princeton 1986); G. Cavallo/H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300 – 800*. BICS 47 (London 1987) Nr. 24a.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. die Beschreibungen mit Abbildungen bei Cavallo/Maehler, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) Nr. 25a (5./6. Jh.) u. 29 (6. Jh.).

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. *editio princeps* (Taf. III) und Cavallo, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 85-6 (Taf. 75a u. 76c).

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Cavallo, *op.cit.* (above, n.16) 85-7; Cavallo/Maehler, *op.cit.* (above, n.16) 56. Zur alexandrinischen Majuskel kurz H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek (München 1989) 100.

<sup>20</sup> So Kraus, "Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse," (above, n. 2). Ferner E. Tigheelaar, "Is the Liar Bar Kokhba? Considering the Date and Provenance of

Der Schreiber verwendet einige als der *nomina sacra* in der Literatur bezeichneten Kurzformen, dabei  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$ ,  $\overline{\upsilon\upsilon}$  und  $\overline{\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma}$ , bietet den Vokativ Πέτρε jedoch ausgeschrieben (vgl. dagegen *P.Vindob.G* 2325<sup>21</sup>), kürzt Zeilenend-ν durch einen Horizontalstrich über den vorangehenden Buchstaben (aber nur F. 1, verso l. 11), verdeutlicht einen Paragraphenübergang so, dass ein Zeilenfüller dem vor der entsprechenden Zeile stehenden Paragraphenrandzeichen vorausgeht (F. 1, verso l. 13 mit F. 2, rektol. 1; l. 7-8; *Bodl.*, rektol. 12-13) und setzt Apostrophe bei Doppelkonsonanten (F. 1, rektol. 3; F. 2, rektol. 4; F. 2, verso l. 13; *Bodl.*, rektol. 13). Daneben sind noch Trema (F. 2, rektol. 8) und Hauchzeichen (F. 1, rektol. 4.12; F. 2, rektol. 4) anzutreffen, finden sich Punkt (F. 1, rektol. 2.4; F. 1, verso l. 8; F. 2, rektol. 7.11), Hochpunkt (F. 1, verso l. 5; F. 2, verso l. 13; *Bodl.* l. 12) und zwei übereinander stehende Punkte (F. 2, rektol. 1. 13). Diese Beobachtungen zusammen mit dem Format wie der Zeilen- und Buchstabenzahl passen zudem gut zur Datierung des Codex auf das fünfte Jahrhundert.<sup>22</sup>

*P.Vindob.G* 39756

Folio 2, verso	Folio 1, rektol.
χουσαν δύσε-	έξομαι τοῖς
ως, καὶ πί-	κλητοῖς μου
ε τὸ ποτήρι-	καὶ ἐκ{κ}λε-
ον ὃ ἐπηγ-	κτοῖς μου, ὄν
5 γελάμην σοι	5 ἐὰν ἐτήνων-
ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ	τα\ί/ με ἐκ τῆς
υ(ιο)ῦ τοῦ ἐν "Αι-	κολάσεως, καὶ
δου, εἶνα ἀρ-	δῶς αὐτοῖς

the Greek (Ethiopic) *Apocalypse of Peter*," in Bremmer/Czachesz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 75-7.

<sup>21</sup> Zur Kurzform pet ohne Horizontallinie aber mit Punkt über π und τ, noch dazu in roter Tinte T.J. Kraus, "P.Vindob.G 2325: Das sogenannte Fayûm-Evangelium—Neuedition und kritische Rückschlüsse," *ZAC* 5 (2001) 204-7.

<sup>22</sup> Eine "Pagination," wie sie sich als Hinweis bei van Haelst, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) Nr. 619, findet, ist jedoch nicht vorhanden.

10 χήν λάβη αὐ-  
τοῦ ἢ ἀφά-  
νια· καὶ cὺ  
δεκτός τηc  
ἐπαγγελί[ac

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Folio 2, verso (Seite 4):

6 lies χειρί; 7 Ms.  $\overline{\text{υυ}}$ ; 8 lies ἵνα;  
10-11 lies ἀφάνεια; 11 Ms. mit  
Hochpunkt; 12 oder δ' ἐκτός (?);  
13 Ms. mit Apostroph, also  
ἐπαγγελεί[ac, lies ἐπαγγελίαc

10 καλὸν βάπτι-  
cμα ἐν cωτη-  
ρία Ἀχερουσία[c  
λίμνης ἦν κα-  
λοῦcιν ἐν τῷ

---

Folio 1, rektō (Seite 1):

1 Auf vorangehender Seite wohl  
παρ-, weshalb dann παρ]έξομαι;  
2 Ms. mit Punkt; 3 Ms. mit  
Apostroph, also ἐκ'κλε, lies ἐκλε;  
4 Ms. mit Punkt; Ms. ὄν; 5 lies  
αἰτήcωνται; 12 Ms. ἦν

## F. 2, verso (Seite 4)

1-2 Wessely und Prümm lesen ὁπύcεωc, das James zu δύcεωc verbessert. Dabei sind οπ allerdings πο, also die durchscheinenden Anfangsbuchstaben von ποιήcω auf der Rückseite (F. 2, rektō). Unter dem Mikroskop ist ein δ zu erkennen.<sup>23</sup>

6 Wessely und Prümm lesen χειροῖν, James stellt zudem χερ-  
cίν in Aussicht. Das Ms. hat jedoch nach ρ charakteristisches ε,  
dann ι und kein ν.

12 Hier ist auch an δ' ἐκτός ("aber/und außerhalb/abgesehen von"; mit Genitiv konstruiert) statt an δεκτός ("angenehm/willkommen"; vgl. zur Konstruktion Jes 61,2: ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν) zu denken.

## F. 1, rektō (Seite 1)<sup>24</sup>

4 Während Wessely und Prümm hier ein *nomen sacrum*— $\overline{\text{θν}}$ —  
annahmen, verbesserte James zu ὄν. Zwar scheint auf den ersten

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<sup>23</sup> Mit van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 39 (unter Berufung auf eine Unter-  
suchung durch Hermann Harrauer, Wien, mit Hilfe von ultraviolettem Licht).

<sup>24</sup> Unzutreffend die Wiedergabe als θεὸν ἐὰν cτήcων ταὸ (sic!) με und später  
θ(εό)ν ἐὰν cτήcωντα' με sowie die Annahme einer bloßen Emendation durch  
James zu ὄν ἐὰν αἰτήcωνται με von Adamik, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 83-4; 87.

Blick die für diese Methode der Kürzung übliche Horizontallinie zu sehen, doch ergibt sich bei genauerer Untersuchung unter dem Mikroskop, dass der Schreiber—wie F. 1, rekto, l. 12 (ἦν) und F. 2, rekto, l. 6 (δ)—hier einen Punkt als *spiritus asper* setzt, aus dem er beim Anheben des κάλαμος versehentlich noch einen leicht geschwungenen, kurzen Strich nach rechts führt. Zudem fehlt dem ο hier der Mittelstrich für ein θ (vgl. F. 2, rekto, l. 10).<sup>25</sup>

5-6 Der Horizontalstrich des ε ist unter dem Mikroskop erkennbar, weshalb hier ἐτήσωνται zu lesen ist und der Vorschlag von Prümm (στέσωνται) unzutreffend ist. Das über der Zeile nachgetragene ι scheint vom selben Schreiber zu stammen. Die Schreibung von ε für αι ist phonologisch erklärbar und für die griechisch-römische Zeit belegt.<sup>26</sup>

Folio 1, verso	Folio 2, rekto
'Ηλυσίω πεδίω, μέρος δικαιο- σύνης μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων	>< καὶ ποιήσω με- τ' αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπα[γ-] γελίας μου, ἃς ἐ- πηγγειλάμην
5 μου· καὶ ἀπε- λεύσομαι ἐ- γὼ καὶ οἱ ἐκλε- κτοί μου ἀγαλ- λιῶντες με-	5 αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ π(ατή)ρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς >—
10 τὰ τῶν πατρι- αρχῶν εἰς τη(ν)	>< ἰδοὺ ἐδήλωσά κοι Πέτρε 10 καὶ ἐξεθέ- μην πάντα.

<sup>25</sup> So auch van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 38 (unter Berufung auf Hermann Harrauer, Wien).

<sup>26</sup> Belege in F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Vol. I: Phonology* (Milano 1975) 191-3. Ferner E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit. Band I: Laut- und Wortlehre. 1. Teil: Einleitung und Lautlehre* (Berlin 1970<sup>2</sup>) § 14 (83; 85-6, bes. 86 Zeilen 8-10).

α]ιονίαν μου  
β]ασιλείαν >—

καὶ πορεύου  
εἰς πόλιν ἄρ:-

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Folio 1, verso (Seite 2):  
5 Ms. mit Hochpunkt; 8 Ms. mit  
Punkts; 11 Ms τη; 13 Ms. mit  
Paragraphenzeichen

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Folio 2, rektó (Seite 3):  
1 Ms. mit Paragraphenzeichen;  
3-4 Ms. mit Apostroph, also  
ἐπηγ'γειλάμην; 6 Ms. πρ̄; 7 Ms  
συνοις; 7 Ms mit punkt und  
Paragraphenzeichen; 8 Ms. mit  
Paragraphenzeichen; Ms ιδου; 11  
Ms. mit Punkt; 13 Ms. mit zwei  
Punkten

### Folio 1, verso (Seite 2)

13 Reste am linken, abgebrochenen Rand entsprechen oberer Spitze eines α wie α im selben Wort und ll. 10-11.

Übersetzung (des im Anschluss an äthApkPetr 14 und vor grApk Petr 1 [Akhmîm-Codex] stehenden Textes):

#### Deutsch

(F. 1, rektó; Seite 1) "Ich werde meinen Berufenen und meinen Auserwählten den gewähren, den<sup>27</sup> sie aus der Strafe erbitten, und ich werde ihnen eine gute Taufe geben in der Rettung aus dem acherusischen See, den man so nennt im" (F. 1, verso; Seite 2) "Elysischen Feld, einen Teil der Gerechtigkeit mit meinen Heiligen. Und ich werde weggehen, ich und meine jubelnden Auserwählten, zusammen mit den Patriarchen in meine ewige Königsherrschaft." (F. 2, rektó; Seite 3) "Und ich werde für sie (oder: "mit ihnen") meine Verheißungen erfüllen, die ich ihnen verheißen habe, ich und mein Vater in den Himmeln. Siehe, Petrus, ich habe dir alles geoffenbart und dargelegt. Und geh in die Stadt, die" (F. 2, verso; Seite 4) "die herrscht über den Westen und trinke den Kelch, den

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<sup>27</sup> Der Anschluss hängt davon ab, ob der Textbestand ὃν ἐὰν αἰτήωνται με ('den ...') als ursprünglich akzeptiert oder ein Schreiberfehler und dann ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήωνται με ('das ...') angenommen wird. Zur Diskussion van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 31-4; Kraus, "Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse," (above, n. 2).

ich dir verheißen habe in den Händen des Sohnes im Hades, so dass einen Anfang nehme seine Vernichtung und du angenehm (oder: "außerhalb") der Verheißung ..."

*Englisch*

(**F. 1, recto; page 1**) "I will give to my called and my chosen whomsoever they will ask me for, out of punishment, and I will give them a fine baptism in the salvation of what is called the Acherusian Lake in the" (**F. 1; verso; page 2**) "Elysian Field, a part of the justice with my holy ones. And I will depart, I and my rejoicing chosen together with the patriarchs to my eternal kingdom." (**F. 2, recto; page 3**) "And I will fulfil for them (or: "with them") my promises that I have promised them, I and my Father in heaven. Look, Peter, I have manifested to you and expounded all this. And go into the city that" (**F. 2, verso; page 4**) "rules over the west and drink the cup which I promised you at the hands of the son of the one who is in Hades, so that his destruction may have a beginning, and you acceptable (or: "excepted") of the promise ..."

*Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*

	rekto		verso
	[γυ]ναῖκες κ[ρα-]		[τ]ῶν ἑτεροῖ
	[το]ῦντες ἀλ[ύ-]		[ἔ]χονταῖ ἄ[ν-]
	[σε]ῖς καὶ μα-		[δ]ρες καὶ γ[υ-]
	[στ]ιγοῦντε[ς]		[ν]αῖκες κα[ι-]
5	[ἐα]υτοὺς ἔ[μ-]	5	[ό]μενοι τῇ
	[πρ]οθεν τ[ού-]		[κ]αύξει τῶ[ν]
	[τ]ων <τῶν> εἰδῶ-		[ε]ἰδωλομ[α-]
	[λ]ων πλαν[ῶν.]		[ν]ῶν. οὔτο[ι]
	καὶ ἀνανα-		[δ]έ εἰσιν ο[ἱ-]
10	παύτως [ἐ-]	10	[τι]νες κα-
	ξουσιν τῇ[ν]		[τέ]λιπον.
	κόλασιν· >—		[τῇ]ν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ὁ-

&gt;&lt; καὶ ἐγγὺς [αὐ–]

[δὸ]ν καὶ προε–

---

rekto:

1 [γυ]ναῖκες, davor zu ergänzen  
als [ἄνδρες καὶ γυ]ναῖκες; 7-8  
James εἰδὼ[λων | τ]ῶν; 8 πλαν[ῶν]  
oder πλαν[ῶ]; 12 Ms. mit Hoch-  
punkt und Paragraphenzeichen;  
13 Ms mit Paragraphenzeichen  
und Apostroph ἐγγύς

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verso:

7 James ] δωκεμ[; 11-12 James  
ὁ[δὸ]ν; 12-13 James ὁ[λως]

**rekto**

7-8: Für James' Lesung reicht der veranschlagte Raum nicht. Diese würde die Zeilenlänge sprengen, denn selbst wenn die Zeile kurz geraten scheint, so würde ]λων die Zeilenlänge sprengen, ebenso schon ]ω(v). Eine kürzere Zeile mit 7 Buchstaben ist nichts Besonderes für diesen Kodex (vgl. *P.Vindob.G* 39765 F. 1, rekto ll. 3; F. 2, verso ll. 2, 4, 10; vgl. auch andere unbündige Zeilen wie F. 1, verso ll. 4, 6; F. 2, rekto ll. 9, 10; *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f.* 4 [P], verso ll. 10 und v.a. 11). Allerdings bedürfen Demonstrativpronomen und Substantiv der Ergänzung mit einem Artikel (<τῶν>).

**verso**

7-8 James zieht in seiner Ausgabe bereits die von Bartlet (und einem namentlich nicht erwähnten Mitarbeiter der *Bodleian Library*) vorgeschlagene Lesung εἰδωλομανῶν seiner eigenen ] δωκεμ[ vor. Das Foto zeigt Spuren, die sich eher mit λο als mit κε vereinbaren lassen. Das *Compositum* εἰδωλομανεῖς findet sich auch bei Athenagoras, *leg.* 27,2,2<sup>28</sup> (ed. W.R. Schoedel, Oxford 1972); Epiphanius, *frg. (index apostolorum)* 116,2.12; Johannes Chrysostomus, *de chananæa* (PG 52, 454,44; vgl. Suche mit *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [TLG]). Weitere Belege (u.a. bei Lampe) sind jünger.

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<sup>28</sup> So schon vermerkt von James, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 369: "[I]t occurs in *Athenagoras* 29 [Sic!]." Korrigierte Stellenangabe durch Prümm, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 71 Anm. 1.



11-13 Hier ist die von James angeführte Alternativlesung von Bartlet (κατέλιπον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδόν) dessen eigener auch aufgrund des paläographischen Befundes der Vorzug zu geben, da nach κα[τέ]λιπον kein Rest erkennbar ist (James ὅ) und zu Beginn von l. 13 es sich eher um den geraden Vertikalstrich eines ν (ὁ[δό]ν) handelt als um den Rest eines c (ὁ[λω]ν). Van Minnen erwägt für den Fall, dass doch ein Tintenrest vorhanden sei, einen Zeilenfüller und nicht ein o anzusetzen.

Übersetzung (vgl. äthApkPetr 10; grApkPetr 33-34 [Akhmîm-Codex]):

#### *Deutsch*

... (**rekto**) "(Männer und) Frauen, die Ketten halten und sich vor diesen trügerischen Götzenbildern peitschten. Und unaufhörlich werden sie die Qual erfahren. Und nahe" (**verso**) "bei ihnen werden andere Männer und Frauen brennen im Feuer derjenigen, die verrückt nach Götzenbildern sind. Diese aber sind jene, die den Weg Gottes verlassen haben und ..."

#### *Englisch*

... (**recto**) "(men and) women, who hold chains and scourged themselves in front of those deceitful idols. And they will incessantly experience the torment. And near" (**verso**) "them other men and women will be burning in the fire of those who are mad after idols. But those are the ones who forsook the way of God and ..."

Abschließend stellt sich noch die Frage nach der Relation der beiden griechischen Fassungen zueinander bzw. zum äthiopischen Text. Der mögliche Vergleich der griechischen Paralleltexte des Bodleian-Fragments und des Akhmîm-Kodex verdeutlicht sofort tendenzielle Unterschiede der beiden Versionen:

Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]

grApkPetr 33-34 (Akhmîm-Codex)

γυναῖκες κρατοῦντες ἀλύσεις  
καὶ μαστιγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἔμ-  
προσθεν τούτων εἰδώλων πλα-  
νῶν καὶ ἀναναπαύςτως ἔξουσιν  
τὴν κόλασιν· καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν  
ἕτεροι ἔσονται ἄνδρες καὶ γυ-  
ναῖκες καίόμενοι τῇ καύσει τῶν  
εἰδωλομανῶν. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν  
οἵτινες κατέλιπον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ  
ὁδὸν καὶ προε-

(καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἄνδρες ἕτεροι  
καὶ) γυναῖκες ῥάβδους πυρὸς  
ἔχοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους τύπτοντες  
καὶ μηδέποτε παυόμενοι τῆς  
τοιαύτης κολάσεως καὶ ἕτεροι  
πάλιν ἐγγὺς ἐκείνων γυναῖκες καὶ  
ἄνδρες φλεγόμενοι καὶ στρεφό-  
μενοι καὶ τηγανιζόμενοι. οὗτοι δὲ  
ἦσαν οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ  
θεοῦ

Der Kodex, zu dem das Bodleian-Fragment gehört, weist die Strafen als zukünftig aus, während sie im entsprechenden Text des Akhmîm-Kodex im Präsens stehen, ist offensichtlich der äthiopischen Fassung näher (vgl. die Betonung der Götzenbilder, die Züchtigung vor diesen, die Ketten, das Brennen im Feuer und die ewige Qual) als der andere griechische Text.<sup>29</sup> Dies stützt auch eine begriffliche Auffälligkeit, die sich auf dem Wiener Pergament-Bifolium findet: die Erwähnung des acherusischen Sees (Ἀχερουσία λίμνη) und des elysischen Feldes (Ἠλύσιον πεδίον). Neben religionsgeschichtlichen Rückschlüssen auf grundsätzliche Fragen in Bezug auf die Petrus-Apokalypse bindet diese Nennung den griechischen Text deutlich an äthApkPetr 14, wo eben auch von beiden Orten die Rede ist (vgl. auch, hiervon wahrscheinlich abhängig, Sib.Or. 2,330-8, bes. 337f.). Zudem deutet die Verwendung der beiden Ortsbezeichnungen auf eine christliche Adaption von ursprünglich paganen Vorstellungen hin.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. die italienische Parallelübersetzung von Bodleian-, Akhmîm-Fragment und äthiopischem Text durch P. Marrassini, "L'apocalisse di Pietro," in Y. Beyene et al (eds.), *Etiopia e altro. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci*. Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica 1 (Napoli 1994) 210-1. Auf diesen Umstand wies schon James, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 17, hin.

<sup>30</sup> Speziell hierzu Kraus, "Acherousia und Elysion" (above, n. 2) 145-53; *Id.*, "Die griechische Petrusapokalypse" (above, n. 2). Ferner neuerdings J.N.

Natürlich ist damit jüdischer Einfluss keinesfalls ausgeschlossen, vielmehr doch wahrscheinlich angesichts so mancher Berührungspunkte bei der detaillierten Darstellung der Unterweltstrafen für die Frevler und Sünder jedweder Art, wenngleich Farbigkeit und Vehemenz der Schilderungen der Petrus-Apokalypse eine Besonderheit darstellen. Ebendiese findet sich unter anderer Schwerpunktsetzung in der späteren Paulus-Apokalypse. Im Blickpunkt steht dort ab in der Darstellung der Strafen und ihrer Ort ab ApkPaul 31 das Leiden pflichtvergessener Mitglieder des Klerus.<sup>31</sup>

Auch die Qualifizierung der Götter- bzw. Götzenbilder als "trügerisch" (τούτων <τῶν> εἰδώλων πλανῶν) gegenüber "Verirrung," "Fehler" im äthiopischen Text und die Betonung der Unaufhörlichkeit der Qualen (Adjektiv ἀναπαύτως; ausschließlich hier belegt, also ein absolutes *Hapax legomenon*<sup>32</sup>; vgl. dagegen das häufige *Simplex* ἀπαύτως) gegenüber dem "Gericht in Ewigkeit" zeigen die Nähe des Wiener- und Bobleian Fragments zum äthiopischen Text, wohingegen Entsprechungen in den analogen Abschnitten des Achmîm-Kodex fehlen.

Der schon eben angesprochene Abschnitt äthApkPetr 14 teilt sich mit dem Wiener Fragment des hier behandelten Kodex die Erwähnung einer Taufe im acherusischen See von schon Verstorbenen, also *post mortem*. Eine genauere Betrachtung der christlichen Verwendung von Ἀχερουσία λίμνη in potentiellen Vergleichstexten (v.a. ApkMoses, Sib.Or., Buch der Auferstehung Jesu Christi von Bartholomäus dem Apostel) führt die Übernahme dieser Vorstellung durch das frühe Christentum vor Augen, sowohl als Ort einer vorbereitenden Waschung wie auch als Ort einer Taufe im

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Bremmer, "The Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?," in Bremmer/Czachesz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 9-10; Adamik, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 80-6.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. Anm. 30 und J.N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife. The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol* (London 2002) 63-4.

<sup>32</sup> Zur Umschreibung bzw. Eingrenzung des Begriffs T.J. Kraus, "'Uneducated,' 'Ignorant,' or even 'Illiterate': Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4.13," *NTS* 45 (1999) 438-44; Id., *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes*. WUNT 2.136 (Tübingen 2001) 313-6.

christlichen Sinn, wie dies letztlich durch äthApkPetr und *P.Vindob.G* 39756 vorgestellt wird.<sup>33</sup>

Eine weitere Auffälligkeit in diesem Zusammenhang, die hier nicht nur der Vollständigkeit halber erwähnt sei, ist die Bezeichnung εἰδωλομανεῖς, von Menschen, die "verrückt nach Götzenbildern" sind. Während dieses *Compositum* ein biblisches *Hapax legomenon* darstellt, die einschlägigen Handbücher und Lexika hierzu keinen Eintrag ausweisen und mir auch sonst kein Beleg aus der klassischen Literatur bekannt ist, wurde es immerhin bei Athenagoras, *legat.* 27,2,2, Epiphanius, *frg. (index apostolorum)* 116,2.12, Johannes Chrysostomus, *de Chanananaea* 52,454,44; *in sanctum pascha* 12,1,9 sowie Späteren als Negativbezeichnung und sogar Synonym der Frevler gebraucht, spielte der Tatbestand der εἰδωλομανία, für die Kirchenväter eine beachtliche Rolle in der Darstellung Auseinandersetzung mit Gegnern und/oder Andersgläubigen.<sup>34</sup> Dies zeigt zusammen mit der negativen Einstufung der Götter- bzw. Götzenbilder (τῶν εἰδώλων πλανῶν) die Wichtigkeit dieses Themas für den erhaltenen Textabschnitt des hier zu betrachtenden Pergamentkodex. In dieser Hinsicht wäre eine eingehende Untersuchung der Auseinandersetzung innerhalb des frühen Christentums mit dem Phänomen εἰδωλομανία anhand der Petrus-Apokalypse wie auch der Kirchenväter von Interesse (wie

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<sup>33</sup> Vgl. Kraus, "Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse" (above, n. 2); K.B. Copeland, "Sinners and Post-Mortem 'Baptism' in the Acherusian Lake," in Bremmer/Czachesz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 91-107. Mit Recht weist Copeland darauf hin, dass in der äthiopischen Petrus-Apokalypse im Gegensatz zu Platos *Phaedo* nurmehr die Gerechten getauft werden. Für Rückschlüsse, die dies von Seiten der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse bestätigen könnten, ist jedoch der auf *P.Vindob.G* 39756 erhaltene Text zu kurz.

<sup>34</sup> Die Suche mit dem *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) bringt zahlreiche Treffer. Vgl. nur die fragmentarisch erhaltene Abhandlung des Epiphanius von Salamis gegen die Bilder. Text bei H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre*. TU 139 (Berlin 1992) 65-7; 298-9. Ferner die weiterführenden Belege in G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) s.v. εἰδωλομανής, εἰδωλομανία, aber auch s.v. εἰδωλολατρία, εἰδωλον κτλ. Hinsichtlich Septuaginta, Neuem Testament und apostolischen Vätern vgl. W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*. Hg. v. K. Aland/B. Aland (Berlin 1988<sup>6</sup>) s.v. εἰδωλολατρία κτλ.

auch die Einbeziehung von εἰδωλον,<sup>35</sup> εἰδωλολατρία und dergleichen), da sich dadurch mögliche Erkenntnisse über die Verwendung des *Compositums* einerseits und die Thematik andererseits ergeben können. Dies würde aber den Rahmen der vorliegenden Studie sprengen.

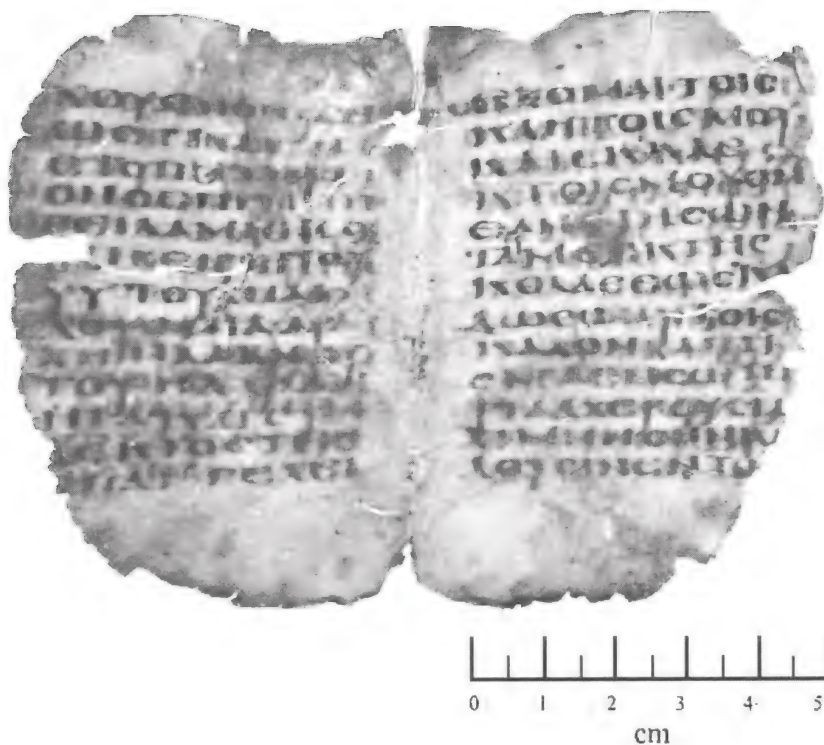
Des Weiteren muss das Alter der herangezogenen Textzeugen wie deren hiervon beeinflusste Sprachgestalt für Aussagen über die Beziehungen der unterschiedlichen Fassungen untereinander berücksichtigt werden. Denn zwischen der Niederschrift der beiden Kodizes *P.Vindob.G* 39756 + *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4* [P] und *P.Cair.* 10759 (Akhmîm-Kodex) liegt schließlich ein Jahrhundert. Bei Letzterem handelt es sich um eine wahrscheinlich verkürzte, jedoch sicher überarbeitete und redaktionell gestaltete Version der ursprünglichen Fassung der ApkPetr. Auch der Erste, der ältere griechische Kodex, kommt mitnichten der Originalfassung wirklich nahe und stellt eine spätere Version dar. Weitergehende Aufschlüsse sind nur, neben den Kirchenväterzitaten, durch die von einer griechischen Fassung abstammende äthApkPetr möglich, die sich wiederum von der erhaltenen griechischen Zeugnissen klar unterscheidet, nimmt man die Detailunterschiede zum Kodex *P.Vindob.G* 39756 + *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4* [P] und die frappierend andere Reihenfolge im Vergleich mit dem Akhmîm-Kodex. Erst der äthiopische Text ermöglicht aufgrund seiner Gestalt wie seines Umfangs Rückschlüsse textgeschichtlicher Art, kommt der ursprünglichen Gestalt am Nächsten.<sup>36</sup>

THOMAS J. KRAUS

*Willibald-Gluck-Gymnasium*

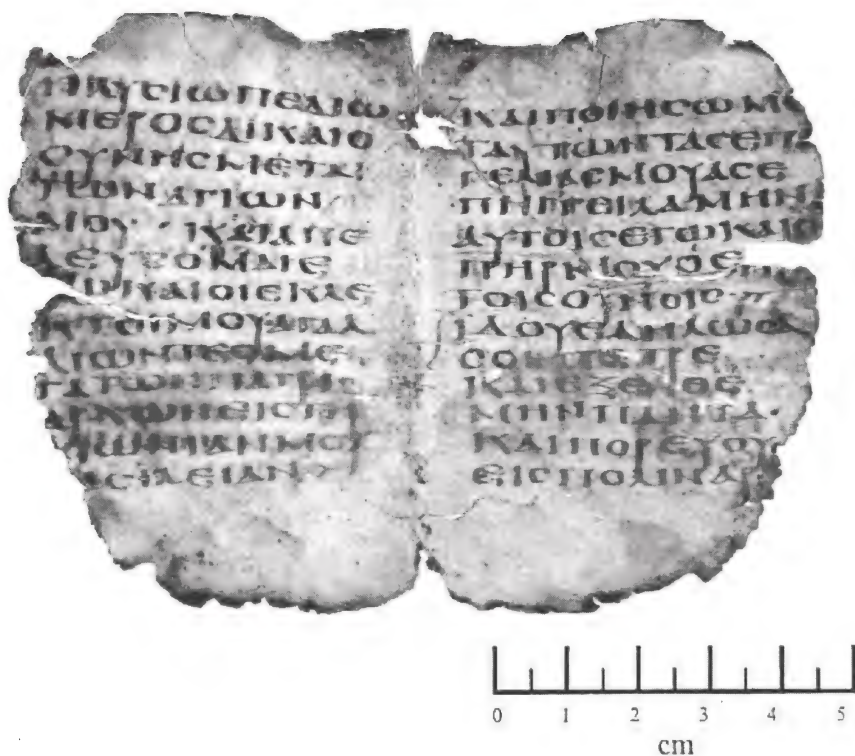
<sup>35</sup> Mit Recht weist Bremmer, *op.cit.* (above, n. 31) 3 u. 23, darauf hin, dass etwa bei Homer und im Orphismus εἰδωλον als "Bild" bzw. "Bild des Lebens" stellvertretend für die Seele stehen konnte. Vgl. die einschlägigen Lexica und Wörterbücher.

<sup>36</sup> Hierzu Marrassini, *op.cit.* (above, n. 29) 171-88 und 221-32. Ferner die Anmerkungen von R. Bauckham/P. Marrassini, "Apocalypse de Pierre," in F. Bovon/P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens I*. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442 (Paris 1997) 747-51; C.D.G. Müller, "Offenbarung des Petrus," in Schneemelcher, W. (Hg.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung II*. Begr. v. E. Hennecke (Tübingen 1997<sup>6</sup>) 564-6; Kraus, "Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse" (above, n. 2).



*P. Vindob. G 39756*

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## Noms sémitiques à Edfou et Thèbes\*

Les études consacrées à l'onomastique de la population des immigrants du monde méditerranéen venus s'établir dans la *chôra* égyptienne suite à la conquête macédonienne ont longtemps souligné la tendance à l'homogénéisation progressive des noms propres en usage. Si tout le monde s'accordait pour dire que, parmi les premières générations d'immigrants, on peut aisément repérer des

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\* Liste des abréviations utilisées dans le texte et les notes: **Cantineau**: J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*. Vol. II: *Choix de textes, lexique* (Paris 1932); **DNB**: *Demotisches Namenbuch*, édité par E. Lüddeckens et al.; **Grelot**: P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 5 (Paris 1972); **Ilan**: T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*. Part I: *Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 91 (Tübingen 2002); **IPN**: M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament III/10 (Hildesheim 1966 repr.); **Kornfeld**: W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 333 (Vienne 1978); **Menu, Hommages Sauneron**: B. Menu, "Reçus démotiques gréco-romains provenant d'Edfou," dans *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* I (Le Caire 1979) 261-80; **Menu, BIFAO 79**: *idem*, "Ostraca romains provenant d'Edfou," *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 121-41; **Menu, BIFAO 80**: *idem*, "Reçus démotiques romains provenant d'Edfou," *BIFAO* 80 (1980) 171-90; **Nachtergaele**: G. Nachtergaele, "Ostraca du Musée archéologique de Cracovie (*O.Mus.Cracovie*)," *Materialy Archeologiczne* 27/2 (1994) 39-53; **Sartre, Bostra**: M. Sartre, *Bostra, Des origines à l'Islam*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 117 (Paris 1985); **Schwartz**: J. Schwartz "La communauté d'Edfou (Haute-Égypte) jusqu'à la fin du règne de Trajan," dans R. Kuntzmann, J. Schlosser (eds.), *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique*. Lectio Divina 119 (Paris 1984) 61-70; **Silverman, ANT**: M.H. Silverman, "Aramaean Name-Types in the Elephantine Documents," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1969) 691-709; **Silverman, HNT**: *idem*, "Hebrew Name-Types in the Elephantine Documents," *Orientalia* 39 (1970) 465-90; **TAD**: B. Porten & A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. Vols. I-IV (Jérusalem 1986-99); **Zadok**: R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 28 (Louvain 1988); **Zauzich**: K.-Th. Zauzich, "Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu," *Enchoria* 12 (1984) 67-86.



noms propres typiques d'une région particulière du monde grec ou du monde périphérique (ces noms que L. Robert a appelés "épichoriques"),<sup>1</sup> l'impression dominante était que, passé quelque temps, les descendants d'immigrants adoptent des noms typiques de l'époque hellénistique: noms dynastiques, comme Ptolemaios, ou noms panhelléniques. Particularismes grecs et singularités barbares se fonderaient ainsi dans un moule commun.

Quelques études récentes tendent à nuancer cette image d'une homogénéisation rapide du monde des colons. Dans certains cas privilégiés, on peut montrer que des poches de peuplement particulier ont pu résister assez longtemps au "melting pot." W. Clarysse a ainsi mis en lumière la survie du dialecte dorien, dans le dernier tiers du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., dans la toparchie inférieure de l'Oxyrhynchite, une région où une population d'origine cyrénéenne, clérouques et civils, est fortement implantée.<sup>2</sup> Le maintien du dorien se reflète dans les variantes dialectales constatées dans les noms propres usités dans cette région. Une forte concentration de population d'origine commune semble donc avoir favorisé le maintien d'un parler grec dialectal et d'une onomastique spécifique.

Voici donc que les Juifs ne sont plus les seuls à nous apparaître comme formant des communautés homogènes; le fameux motif de leur "particularisme religieux" se révèle soudain pour ce qu'il est probablement en grande partie: un cliché commode.<sup>3</sup>

Une image nouvelle de la "diversité ethnique" de moyenne Égypte est donc en train d'émerger. C'est dans ce nouveau contexte que je me propose d'examiner un cas non moins singulier de survie

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Robert a montré l'intérêt de l'étude des noms épichoriques à l'occasion de multiples travaux. Voir par exemple son *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* I. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul XIII (Paris 1963).

<sup>2</sup> W. Clarysse, "Ethnic Diversity and Dialect among the Greeks of Hellenistic Egypt," dans A.M.F.W. Verhoogt et S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. 30 (Leyde 1998) 1-13.

<sup>3</sup> Voir *ibid.* 2. Il est probable que l'identité ethnique de ces Cyrénéens comportait elle aussi un volet religieux, la perpétuation de cultes ancestraux. En un sens, chaque groupe ethnique du monde gréco-romain avait son propre "particularisme religieux."

d'une communauté ethnique homogène sur plusieurs générations: le cas présent nous ramène à des Juifs, cette fois en haute Égypte. Plus particulièrement, la documentation nous conduit vers deux régions: Edfou (Apollinopolis Magna) et Thèbes. Des Juifs, à nouveau: mais dans leur cas, comme j'espère le montrer, la survie de leur particularisme (qui reste à définir) n'est probablement pas due, en tout cas pas exclusivement, au facteur religieux. Quant à ce dernier, il n'est pas impossible que le particularisme de ces Juifs de haute Égypte les oppose, dans ce domaine, non seulement à la société polythéiste environnante, mais aussi aux Juifs de basse et moyenne Égypte.

### I. Indices onomastiques

Deux séries de documents composent notre dossier: 1) des documents araméens d'Edfou, ostraca, papyrus et stèles funéraires; 2) des ostraca et quelques papyrus grecs et, dans une moindre mesure, démotiques, de Thèbes et d'Edfou. Étant donné la nature de ces sources, les indices sont essentiellement onomastiques, même si l'on peut corroborer ces derniers par quelques éléments supplémentaires: indices de datation ou d'organisation sociale fournis par les papyrus démotiques, indications professionnelles des quittances d'impôt grecques et démotiques. Deux noms, dont on espère démontrer qu'ils n'en font en fait qu'un seul, nous serviront de fil conducteur: le nom araméen *'byty* (Abyéti),<sup>4</sup> et le grec Ἀβιήτης/Ἀβιήτορ. Le premier nous conduit à Edfou, essentiellement au III<sup>e</sup> et peut-être encore au II<sup>e</sup> siècle a.C. Les attestations du nom grec à

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<sup>4</sup> La vocalisation du nom est incertaine, et compliquée par le fait que deux étymologies différentes ont été proposées: soit une forme brève à terminaison araméenne *-ay*, de sens peu clair, vocalisable "Abîtay" ou "Abyétay," soit un nom de sens "mon père est avec moi," vocalisé "Abieti" par B. Porten et A. Yardeni, *TAD*. Voir Grelot, p. 462 et Kornfeld, p. 37, qui donnent la bibliographie antérieure. Le rapprochement avec le grec Ἀβιήτης invite à éliminer la leçon "Abîtay," et à donner la préférence à "Abieti," ici orthographié "Abyéti." D'autres noms théophores formés de l'élément *'t*, "avec," sont connus dans les fonds onomastiques ouest-sémitiques. Par exemple, le nom phénicien *'tb'l*, "avec Baal," transcrit Ἰθόβαλός et Ἰθώβαλός par Flavius Josèphe, *C. Apion* I 123 et 156. Voir Fr.L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*. *Studia Pohl* 8 (Rome 1972) 281. Pour le sens, comparer le nom biblique Immanuel, "El est avec nous."

l'époque hellénistique semblent concerner essentiellement Thèbes et sa région—même si un certain nombre d'ostraca sont de provenance incertaine en haute Égypte.<sup>5</sup> Le nom réapparaît au moins deux fois à Edfou à l'époque romaine. Autour de ces deux noms, l'araméen et le grec, s'en agrègent un certain nombre d'autres, caractérisés par la même rareté, le même confinement géographique et, comme la présente étude se propose de démontrer, leur appartenance à la même strate historique. Ils nous permettront d'étoffer le dossier.

### *Presentation du corpus*

Il est indispensable de décrire ce dossier avant de voir les enseignements que l'on peut tirer de ces noms propres et des quelques autres indices corroborants. Dans la mesure où il y a discontinuité géographique entre le corpus de documents araméens et le corpus grec, il est préférable de les présenter séparément dans un premier temps. D'autant plus que l'identité entre l'anthroponyme araméen Abyéti et le grec Abiètès/Abiètos n'est pas admise par tous.

Le premier volet de ce dossier est araméen. Le site d'Edfou a livré un certain nombre de documents araméens datant des lendemains de la conquête macédonienne. Quatre ostraca ont été trouvés lors des fouilles régulières de la Mission Franco-Polonaise de l'entre-deux-guerres.<sup>6</sup> Le reste a été acheté sur le marché, dont un certain nombre à Edfou même. Le nom d'Edfou (Ṭbh) est mentionné dans les deux papyrus (*TAD* C3.28.119 et D1.17.3 [*P.Cowley* 81 et 82]).<sup>7</sup> L'ensemble du lot a été attribué au site d'Edfou par un travail

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<sup>5</sup> Les sources seront présentées ci-dessous. Pour les noms connus par les documents araméens, voir l'Appendice en fin de texte.

<sup>6</sup> Des quatre ostraca, l'un n'a pas été vu par N. Aimé-Giron, qui se contente d'en signaler l'existence; les deux autres que j'ai pu identifier sont publiés par ce savant: "Adv. Semitica," n° 113 et 120 (*TAD* D9.15 et D8.6). J.B. Segal, "Five Ostraca Re-Examined," *Maarav* 4/1 (Spring 1987) 72 n. 4, avait réinterprété "Adv. Semitica" n° 113 comme un document en écriture palmyrénienne, mais B. Porten et A. Yardeni le tiennent bien pour araméen dans leur réédition de *TAD* et y reconnaissent le nom Abyéti à la première ligne.

<sup>7</sup> Ṭbh n'est pas Thèbes, comme le suggérait Cowley dubitativement, mais Apollinopolis Magna, c'est-à-dire Edfou, comme l'avait déjà vu J. Harmatta, "Irano-Aramaica (zur Geschichte des frühhellenistischen Judentums in

de critique interne: rapprochements onomastiques, voire prosopographiques, similitudes des caractéristiques paléographiques, texture des tessons. Il s'agit en majorité de listes de personnes, dont le nom est suivi d'indications numériques, correspondant tantôt à une valeur monétaire, tantôt à des quantités d'une matière inconnue. Dans ce dernier cas, on ne sait si les personnes mentionnées devaient les verser comme contribution ou les recevoir comme salaire, ou d'une liste de dons.<sup>8</sup> S'y ajoutent trois lettres, dont deux accompagnent un envoi de denrées, et une troisième concerne une transaction de céréales.<sup>9</sup> Outre ces ostraca, deux papyrus, l'un fragmentaire mais l'autre assez long et bien conservé, et neuf stèles funéraires, complètent le dossier.<sup>10</sup> Les pièces les plus importantes du lot sont les deux papyrus. *TAD* C3.28, de loin le document le plus long de tous, conserve un aide-mémoire commercial rédigé à la

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Ägypten), " *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7 (1959) 359, comm. à la ligne 45 de son édition. Cf. maintenant *TAD* D1.17. Comparer avec le nom démotique de la ville, *Ḏbʿ*. Les ostraca bilingues d'Edfou donnent l'équivalence: Nachtergaele, n° 1, l. 2 pour le grec, et l. 6 pour le démotique; D. Devauchelle et G. Wagner, "Ostraca ptolémaïques bilingues d'Edfou," *ASAE* 68 (1982) 90, n. 1, l. 1 pour le grec et 6 pour le démotique.

<sup>8</sup> *TAD* D8.3-10 (III<sup>e</sup> s.); D8.11, D9.15, D11.26 (III<sup>e</sup> ou II<sup>e</sup> s.). La fonction de ces listes est inconnue. Il est sûr cependant que les fonctions invoquées par les premiers commentateurs, telle "réception de contributions pour les frais de la synagogue" (R. Weil, *REJ* 65 [1913] 20, à propos de l'ostracon de Berlin *RÉS* 1794 [*TAD* D8.4]), ou "envoi du demi-sicle au Temple de Jérusalem" (R. Degen, "Die aramäische Ostraca in der Papyrus-Sammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," dans R. Degen, W.W. Müller, W. Röllig (eds.), *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* III [Wiesbaden 1978] 47, en commentaire à l'ostracon A.O. 3 [*TAD* D8.7]), ne sont pas les seules possibles. Ce type de listes sur ostracon est bien connu dans les ostraca grecs de haute Égypte, et l'interprétation en est également incertaine: contributions à une association cultuelle, salaires à recevoir, dettes dues, etc. Pour des listes de ce type à l'époque romaine (I<sup>er</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s.), voir *O.Bodl.* II, 1924-5. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 139 (*O.Edfou* III 368), un ostracon qui inclut entre autres des noms juifs, est une liste de contributeurs à une série de banquets (πόσεις).

<sup>9</sup> *TAD* D7.55-7 (fin III<sup>e</sup> s.) et *TAD* D7.57 (fin III<sup>e</sup> s.); *TAD* D7.56 (fin III<sup>e</sup> s.).

<sup>10</sup> Les deux papyrus sont *TAD* C3.28 (*P.Cowley* 81; III<sup>e</sup> s.) et *TAD* D1.17 (*P.Cowley* 82; III<sup>e</sup> s.). La nouvelle lecture de Porten et Yardeni invalide en grande partie le commentaire de J. Harmatta au sujet de *TAD* C3.28, *loc. cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 7), sur lequel est basée la traduction et le bref commentaire de Grelot, n° 13. Les neuf stèles funéraires sont *TAD* D21.7-16 (fin III<sup>e</sup> ou déb. II<sup>e</sup> s.?).

première personne. Quant à *TAD* D1.17, la teneur en est juridique, même si l'état fragmentaire du document en rend l'interprétation malaisée. Le document est adressé par des juges (*dyny'*, l. 1), dont le siège est incertain. L'affaire concerne une maison sise à Edfou.

Mis à part les données spécifiques des deux papyrus, les documents sont intéressants surtout par leur existence même, et pour leurs données onomastiques. Essayons de voir quelles maigres données on peut tirer d'une première approche de ce dossier, en particulier les données chronologiques.

Les textes eux-mêmes ne contiennent aucune référence à une date. Quant aux données archéologiques, elles ne sont malheureusement d'aucun secours non plus pour situer dans le temps ces documents et la communauté qu'ils nous révèlent. Si l'on en croit les rapports de fouilles de la Mission Franco-Polonaise qui a mis à jour le site d'Edfou, le "quatrième quartier" de la ville, où se concentrait la population juive à la fin du I<sup>er</sup> et au début du II<sup>e</sup> s. p.C. d'après les ostraca grecs qui y ont été trouvés, a été édifié à la fin de l'époque pharaonique ou au début de l'époque hellénistique. Malheureusement, ce n'est pas de là que proviennent les quelques ostraca araméens trouvés lors des fouilles régulières et signalés dans le rapport, mais du bain romain du quartier attenant. Or, ce bain date du I<sup>er</sup> s. p.C. De toute évidence, donc, ce n'est pas là le contexte archéologique originel de ces documents. Quant aux ostraca démotiques qui livrent quelques noms juifs pour l'époque d'Auguste et de Tibère, aucune indication relative à leur lieu de trouvaille n'est fournie dans le lemme de publication.<sup>11</sup>

Dans de telles conditions, les seuls critères de datation utilisables sont paléographiques. D'après le travail de réédition de B. Porten et A. Yardeni dans *TAD*, l'ensemble du lot s'étale sur le III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., quelques-uns pouvant même dater du II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Cependant, il est difficile de savoir si les documents attestent deux générations différentes ou une seule. Il semble que l'on retrouve les mêmes individus à la fois dans les documents datables du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. et dans certains des documents considérés comme plus récents. C'est le cas au moins des stèles funéraires. Ainsi, Mešullam, fils d'Azgad,

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<sup>11</sup> Les publications dépouillées directement pour cet article sont B. Menu dans *Hommages Sauneron*, BIFAO 79 (1979) 121-41 et BIFAO 80 (1980) 171-90.

est mentionné dans le compte commercial daté du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. (*TAD* C3.28.107); on le retrouve sur une stèle funéraire familiale, avec son père et ses frère et sœur, Šelomšion et Zebadyah (*TAD* D21.7.5, fin III<sup>e</sup> ou début II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.). Par contre, le Šabbethay, fils de Yašib, de *TAD* C3.28.86 (III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.), pourrait être le père du Yašib, fils de Šabbethay, de *TAD* D7.56.1-2, daté de la fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.

Les données onomastiques permettent d'établir que les Juifs d'Edfou ne sont pas des immigrants de première génération au moment où les documents les saisissent. Le corpus onomastique des documents mêle des noms sémitiques, égyptiens,<sup>12</sup> grecs,<sup>13</sup> masculins et féminins, et un nom perse.<sup>14</sup> La présence de noms grecs est un indice supplémentaire de ce que ce lot de documents est à dater des lendemains de la conquête macédonienne. Laissons de côté, cependant, les noms grecs et égyptiens, et portons notre attention sur les noms sémitiques, pour essayer de creuser plus avant les origines de ce groupe pratiquant l'araméen à l'écrit, et sans doute aussi à l'oral.

Les noms propres ont une histoire, et une chronologie. Les noms juifs comme les autres. Si certains noms peuvent avoir été courants à toutes les époques, la plupart ont eu leur heure de popularité à une époque donnée et aussi, dans une certaine mesure, en un lieu

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<sup>12</sup> *TAD* D8.3, en particulier, est un registre de terres du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., dans lequel tous les individus inclus portent nom et patronyme égyptien, sauf un Šabbethay fils de Yidléh (l. 6). Dans d'autres documents, on trouve des noms égyptiens associés à des noms hébraïques: Ḥwry (Ḥû/ôri), père de Šabbethay (*TAD* D8.9.11); Phs (Pachios/Pachis/Pachois/Pachos), p. d'Abdyahû (*TAD* C3.28.117); Psy (Pasi), p. de Berukah (*TAD* D8.7.5), et de Ḥwry (Ḥû/ôri) (*TAD* D8.7.7), et *TAD* D21.14.1 (inscription funéraire); Ps' (Pasi): *TAD* D21.12 (inscription funéraire); Ts' (Tasa), fille de Ḥannyah, petite-fille de Cese (?) (*TAD* C3.28.88).

<sup>13</sup> On trouve des noms grecs dans le compte commercial *TAD* C3.28 *passim*, ainsi que dans les ostraca *TAD* D8.4.16,17; D8.6.5,10; D8.11.5; D7.56.1. Certains sont associés à des noms hébraïques: Arsinoé, fille de Ioḥanan (*TAD* C3.28.82); Diophoros/Dipyros, père de Ḥaggay (*TAD* C3.28.87); Leptinès, fils d' Abyéti, probablement frère d'Abyéti (*TAD* D7.57.1).

<sup>14</sup> *Bzkh* (Bazakâ), *TAD* D8.8.7. L'identité ethnique du porteur est incertaine. Tous les autres noms du document (un compte de distribution de blé) sont hébraïques.

donné, puis peuvent être passés de mode.<sup>15</sup> Les noms peuvent donc, jusqu'à un certain point, servir d'indicateurs chronologiques.

Les documents araméens d'Edfou livrent entre 46 et 48 noms hébraïques, ainsi que 15 ou 16 autres noms sémitiques (en comptant Abyétî),<sup>16</sup> dont un certain nombre de noms araméens associés à des noms hébraïques dans leur filiation (nom hébraïque et patronyme araméen, ou l'inverse), au premier chef Abyétî. Outre ce dernier, le Zebadyah (nom formé sur une racine araméenne) de *TAD* D21.7.4 est fils d'Azgad (nom hébraïque). Ce même Azgad a à son tour un patronyme araméen, *Mky/Mry* (Makkî/Marî, *TAD* D21.7.1 et 3). Un *Ndby* (Nadbay/Nadbî), dont le nom est formé sur un schème araméen, est père d'un Nathan (*TAD* C3.28.10).<sup>17</sup> Un certain nombre d'autres noms araméens pourraient également facilement être portés par des juifs (comme Abâ, Zabbay, Zabd(a)y). Cependant, les Juifs n'étaient pas forcément le seul groupe de population parlant une langue du groupe sémitique à être présent dans la région d'Edfou: les ostraca grecs de haute Égypte des III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. révèlent un certain nombre de noms nabatéens. Ces noms et quelques autres d'origine incertaine dans le champ sémitique signalent donc probablement des individus non juifs, en particulier ceux de l'ostracon *TAD* D8.6: *Hbwb* (Ḥabbûb, ou bien *Hṭb*, *TAD* D8.6.5); *Šr'm* (Šeraam, *TAD* D8.6.6); ce dernier est patronyme du nom 'ḥyw (Aḥyô/û), identifié par les éditeurs de *TAD* comme un nom juif. Cette interprétation donnerait un cas intéressant de

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<sup>15</sup> Voir S. Honigman, "The Birth of a Diaspora: The Emergence of a Jewish Self-Definition in Ptolemaic Egypt in the Light of Onomastics," dans Sh.J.D. Cohen et E.S. Frerichs (eds.), *Diasporas in Antiquity*. Brown Judaic Studies 288 (Atlanta 1993) 93-127; *eandem*, "Abraham in Egypt: Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic Names in Egypt and Judaea in Hellenistic and Early Roman Times," à paraître dans *ZPE* en 2004.

<sup>16</sup> Voir la liste en fin de texte. Il est difficile de savoir si le nom *Šlm*[ ] de *TAD* C3.28.113 est à lire *Šlm* (Šillem) ou *Šlmyh* (Šelemyah). Dans le second cas, il constitue un nom supplémentaire, mais pas dans le premier. 'ḥyw (Aḥyô/û) en *TAD* D8.6.6 peut être un nom juif ou nabatéen (voir ci-dessous), d'où aussi l'incertitude sur le nombre des noms sémitiques non hébraïques.

<sup>17</sup> Un cas supplémentaire, plus incertain, nous emmène à Hagir Esna: sur une stèle funéraire de la fin du III<sup>e</sup> ou du début du II<sup>e</sup> s., un 'bdy (Abdî), dont le nom est une forme hypocoristique d'une racine commune à toutes les langues sémitiques, est fils d'un Yaïr (D21.16.2).

filiation "anormale," mais la finale en *o/u* pourrait aussi signaler un nom nabatéen.<sup>18</sup> Il en va de même de quelques autres noms, comme *Nbs* (Nabis, *TAD* C3.28.14), *Nwkd/rw* (Nûkrû/Nûdrû, *TAD* D8.10.3), – ‘*qbn* (Aqban, *TAD* D7.56.3).

La grande majorité des noms hébraïques sont typiques de l'époque perse. Cette observation s'appuie sur trois critères, corroborés par une comparaison entre le corpus de noms hébraïques attestés pour l'époque pré-hellénistique de R. Zadok, et le corpus gréco-romain de T. Ilan:<sup>19</sup> soit ces noms sont bien attestés pour cette époque mais deviennent plus rares par la suite. C'est le cas, par exemple, des noms Ḥaggay, Mešullam, Šemaël, Yidlêh. Deuxième critère, certains noms sont formés sur un schème courant à l'époque perse et plus rare par la suite (le schème de diminutif *pa'ul*: Dallûy, Zakkûr, Haššûb, Šallûm, pour Delayah, Zekaryah, Hešabyah et Šelamyah). Enfin, un certain nombre de noms comportent la désinence théophore –*yah/û*, dans sa forme brève (comme Delayah, Abdyah) ou longue (Abdyahû). A quelques exceptions près, ces noms perdent de leur popularité à l'époque gréco-romaine. En outre, seule la forme brève –*yah* persiste, tandis que la forme longue –*yahû* tombe en désuétude.<sup>20</sup> Au total, entre 32 et 35 noms sur 46 répondent à l'un de ces critères.<sup>21</sup>

Un petit nombre de noms, cependant, offrent des indices chronologiques contradictoires. Šim'on et Šelomšion, en particulier, sont des noms de formation tardive, et sont extrêmement fréquents en Judée à l'époque hellénistique.<sup>22</sup> Simon est en outre bien attesté parmi les Juifs d'Égypte dans les documents grecs de l'époque hellénistique et romaine—même s'il n'est pas aisé de le distinguer de son

<sup>18</sup> Comme me le fait remarquer E.A. Knauf.

<sup>19</sup> Zadok et Ilan (voir ci-dessus n. \* en début d'article).

<sup>20</sup> Sur ce dernier point, Ilan, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Voir l'Appendice.

<sup>22</sup> Ilan, p. 218-26, relève 257 occurrences du nom Šim'on, ce qui en fait le nom le mieux représenté de tout son corpus de noms propres masculins. A l'inverse, Zadok, p. 454, ne relève que deux occurrences du nom Šim'on: le nom du patriarche, et un porteur d'époque perse (Esdras 10.31). Ilan, p. 426f., regroupe 25 occurrences du nom Šelomšion, tandis que la seule occurrence du nom Šelomšion que retient Zadok est celle d'Edfou.



homonyme grec, et que l'on a probablement eu tendance à compter trop de Juifs parmi les porteurs de ce nom. On note, cependant, l'absence dans ce corpus de noms hébraïques qui deviennent courants vers la fin de l'époque perse ou à l'époque hellénistique, comme Joseph ou Jacob.

Particularité supplémentaire de notre corpus, y sont représentés des noms qui sont rares, même pour l'époque perse, comme le prouve une comparaison avec la liste alphabétique de Ran Zadok. C'est le cas de *'zgd* (Azgad), des trois noms formés sur la racine *dlh*, "délivrer," *Dlyh* (Delayah), *Dlwy* (Dallûy), et *Ydlh* (Yidléh), et de Ḥaššûb.<sup>23</sup> Quant au nom Abram, il n'est attesté ni à Éléphantine ni en Judée à l'époque perse, non plus qu'à l'époque gréco-romaine pour la Judée.<sup>24</sup>

A ces noms hébraïques s'ajoute le nom araméen *'byty* (Abyétî). Ce nom semble extrêmement fréquent dans les documents araméens d'Edfou, même en tenant compte des probables recoupelements d'identité entre les porteurs.<sup>25</sup> Il est inconnu ailleurs en milieu juif.

Trois autres lots de documents sont liés à celui des ostraca araméens d'Edfou. Tout d'abord, des documents grecs et démotiques attestent une présence juive à Edfou à deux époques ultérieures. En

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<sup>23</sup> D'après les index du *TAD*, aucun nom formé sur la racine *ḥšb* n'est attesté à Éléphantine, alors que l'on trouve une occurrence du nom *Ḥšwb* à Edfou (*TAD* D8.6.11). Les index de *TAD* ne donnent qu'un seul nom formé sur la racine *dlh* à Éléphantine, *Dlh* (Dalah, C3.6.17). Pour Delayah, Zadok, p. 411 retient trois occurrences documentaires, dont une incertaine, hormis Edfou, et trois occurrences bibliques. Dallûy (Zadok, p. 411) ne se retrouve qu'une fois, à Tell el-Far'a, et encore la lecture en est-elle restituée. À côté de la forme hypocoristique *Ydlh*, Zadok, p. 421, relève la forme théophore *Ydlyh*, mais les deux sont rares, avec deux et une attestations documentaires connues respectivement. Le nom *Ydlh* semble se retrouver, curieusement, dans un papyrus grec d'Égypte des années 253-231 a.C., *CPR* XIII 4.185, sous la transcription *Ἰαδοῦλις*. On trouve encore quelques rares attestations des noms Delayah et Dallûy (deux et une respectivement) dans des documents palestiniens de la haute époque hellénistique. Voir Ilan, p. 87. Delayah signifie "Yah a délivré." Voir *IPN*, p. 180; Grelot, p. 469, s. v. Dalayah.

<sup>24</sup> Sur le nom Abram/Abraham, voir mon article "Abraham in Egypt" (ci-dessus, n. 15).

<sup>25</sup> Voir l'Appendice, et la liste détaillée des sources ci-dessous.

premier lieu, à basse époque hellénistique et au début de l'époque romaine: on a trace de Juifs dans un ostracon grec de basse époque hellénistique (*O.Edfou* III 368 [*C.Pap.Jud.* I 139]), ainsi que dans des ostraca démotiques des règnes d'Auguste et de Tibère. On retrouve ensuite des Juifs dans des reçus d'impôts sur ostraca grecs de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> et le début du II<sup>e</sup> s., dont certains concernent le paiement de l'impôt juif. A ces ostraca s'ajoute un papyrus (*P. Strasb.* IV 300 [*C.Pap.Jud.* III 452a]). Un troisième lot de documents est composé d'ostraca et papyrus grecs et, dans une moindre mesure, démotiques d'époque hellénistique, qui concernent dans leur majorité Thèbes et sa région. On trouve dans ces documents des noms juifs présentant des particularités onomastiques remarquablement similaires à celles des noms livrés par les ostraca araméens d'Edfou. Ces noms n'apparaissent pas dans les documents grecs de basse et moyenne Égypte. Ils sont absents, notamment, du Fayoum, où de nombreux Juifs sont installés à partir du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.<sup>26</sup> On les retrouve, par contre, dans un certain nombre d'ostraca de haute Égypte de provenance incertaine, qui seront traités ici avec ceux de Thèbes. Les rapprochements onomastiques, en effet, suggèrent une provenance thébaine.<sup>27</sup> De même, un fragment de lettre sur papyrus, *BGU* X 2009, de la 1<sup>ère</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. (179/8?), qui contient plusieurs noms juifs attestés seulement en haute Égypte, doit certainement provenir de la région.

### *Noms propres sémitiques des documents grecs d'époque hellénistique*

Dressons tout d'abord la liste de ces noms propres. Il convient pour commencer d'éliminer un certain nombre d'intrus du *C.Pap. Jud.*: plusieurs des individus présumés juifs et vivant en haute

<sup>26</sup> Données fondées sur un dépouillement du *C.Pap.Jud.* ainsi que des documents d'époque ptolémaïque et romaine parus jusqu'en 1995 relevés par I.F. Fikhman, "L'état des travaux au 'Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum' IV," B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler, G. Poethke (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses Berlin, 13.—19.8. 1995* (Stuttgart - Leipzig 1997) 290-6.

<sup>27</sup> Voir, cependant, le commentaire au nom Ἰαείρης ci-dessous, p. 78.

Égypte, retenus dans la liste récapitulative des pp. 200-2, portent en fait des noms arabes, voire plus spécifiquement nabatéens.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Noms certainement nabatéens: *Κολλαῖος* (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 67 [*O.Bodl.* I 64], Thèbes, 150 ou 139 a.C., l.4: Ἀπο( ) Κολλαίου). La lecture du nom, incertaine dans l'*editio princeps*, est confirmée par M. Wittek, *O.Bodl.* III, index IIIa (des personnes à l'époque ptolémaïque), p. 36. Ce nom, dans cette graphie ou avec un seul lambda, est attesté dans le Hauran, à Bostra, Umm al-Jimal (Transjordanie) et en Batanée. Voir par ex. *IGLS* XIII 9289. La vocalisation du nom correspond à un schème de diminutif très fréquent dans les noms propres arabes, *fu'ayl*. Il est ici combiné avec la racine *šly*. Voir Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 239 sq., s.v. *Κολεος*; Cantineau, p. 150. Le patronyme (?) de l'Ἀπο( ) Κάλαμις de *C.Pap.Jud.* I 68 (*O.Wilck.* 1359, Thèbes, 150 ou 139 a.C.), doit être nabatéen également. La racine *slm/šlm* est pan-sémitique, mais la présente vocalisation correspond mieux à un nom arabe qu'araméen ou hébraïque. Sur cette racine en nabatéen, Cantineau, p. 151. De même pour Ἀβδηλος, dans *O.Edfou* III 371 (col. II.23 et col. III.7), dont des extraits sont reproduits dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 140 (non attesté d'après Cantineau, mais cf. Harding, p. 396, qui vocalise *Abdal*). Dans ce même ostracon *O.Edfou* III 371, il y a tout lieu de penser que les noms *Εὐιεύς* (col. I.3) et *Ζαννάις* (cols. I.15, II.16, et III.8), qui sont repris dans le *C.Pap.Jud.*, sont nabatéens, de même que *Φαλλάις* (cols. I.8 et II.3) et peut-être *Οὐίβις* (col. II.18). Il n'y a donc aucun nom juif dans cette intéressante liste de noms de marchands de vin de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque (*Λότικις*, col. I.1, repris dans le *C.Pap.Jud.*, est corrigé en *Λοῦκις* = *Lucius* par Ed. van't Dack, "L'armée romaine d'Égypte de 51 à 30 av. J.-C.," dans *Ptolemaica Selecta*, p. 185-213, p. 202, n. 90. Je remercie Willy Clarysse pour cette référence). Le nom *hyw*, courant en nabatéen, ou la forme plus rare *hyy* (Cantineau, p. 59), pourraient être à l'origine de *Εὐιεύς*. La racine est connue en nabatéen, même si elle ne semble pas attestée jusqu'à présent dans l'épigraphie grecque du Hauran ou de Batanée. *Ζαννάις* peut correspondre à la racine arabe *znn* (Harding, p. 302, voir aussi le nom *zny*, *ibid.*), ou être un diminutif dérivé de la racine araméenne *znb*, qui a donné le nom *Ζηνόβιος*, courant dans le Hauran. Le diminutif *Ζοναῖν* est également attesté (Sartre). Un *Φαλλαῖος* apparaît une fois à Adraha (*SEG* VII 957: *Φαλλέος*), et dans deux inscriptions que me signale Maurice Sartre, l'un à Sheikh Meskin (*IGLS* XIV 405: *Φαλλαῖος* --- *κου*), et l'autre à Inkhil, nom moderne de Neeila (*IGLS* XIV: 467 *Θοάλει Φαλλαίου*). Comparer les racines *fl*, Harding, p. 470, "run away, defeat," ou *fhl*, *ibid.*, p. 473, ou *f'l*, p. 469). On retrouve dans *Οὐίβις* la racine arabe *whb*, "donner," les formes hypocoristiques, "(la divinité) a donné (l'enfant)" étant courantes dans l'onomastique nabatéenne, comme dans tous les fonds onomastiques arabes. A ces noms s'ajoute probablement le *Κάμινος* de *C.Pap.Jud.* I 93 (*O.Wilck.* 753 + *BL* II, p. 76). Un *Καμινω* (au génitif) a été trouvé dans le Hauran (*PAES* 3A, 43). Voir Harding, p. 330, *smn*, qui vocalise *Samîn*. J'avoue ne savoir que faire de *Ἰαφέας* (lecture de M. Wittek, *O.Bodl.* III, p. 30, au lieu du *Ἰαφεύς* de *C.Pap.Jud.* I) et de *Κοῦλις* (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 99 [*O.Bodl.* I 234], de haute Égypte, peut-être Thèbes, 155 ou 144 a.C.), le patronyme d'un Ὠρος. Ἰαφέας est vrai-

Les documents hellénistiques de haute Égypte livrent quelques noms remarquables:

– (0) Commençons par un cas ambigu: *Colloũmic* (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 64.3-4 et 104.4 [*O.Bodl.* I 60, Thèbes, 153 a.C. et *O.Ashm.* 2, Thèbes, 156 a.C]). Les deux ostraca concernent la même personne<sup>29</sup>). La racine *slm/šlm* (qui indique la "paix," au sens de "plénitude"), est pan-sémitique. Cependant, la vocalisation *Colũmoc*, *Colũmic*, est attestée dans l'aire linguistique nabatéenne.<sup>30</sup> Or, le nom est associé, comme patronyme, au nom juif *Caμβαθαῖος*. Dans ce cas, le nom Šallũm pourrait venir en ligne de compte. Ce dernier est attesté à Éléphantine,<sup>31</sup> mais pas dans les documents araméens d'Edfou conservés, dans lesquels les noms formés sur cette racine sont *Šlm* (à vocaliser "Šillem") et *Mšlm* (Mešullam) et le féminin composé *Šlmsyn* (Šelomsion). Pour compliquer le tout, cependant, les documents démotiques de la région de Thèbes semblent montrer que le nom *Šbtj*, qui correspond au grec *Sambathaios*, apparaît dans des milieux non juifs, ou qui semblent non juifs.<sup>32</sup> Le patro-

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semblablement un nom sémitique, mais le domaine hébraïque semble exclu. *Coũlic* pourrait être, après tout, une transcription du nom hébraïque *Ša'ul*, Saül.

Noter les abréviations utilisées ici: *IGLS*: *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. BAH, 12- (Paris 1929-); *PAES*: *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*. Part IV: *Semitic Inscriptions*, édité par E. Littmann (cité d'après Sartre).

<sup>29</sup> Le percepteur du versement de *C.Pap.Jud.* I 104, Adaios, reparaît dans un autre ostracon, *C.Pap.Jud.* I 108 (*O.Wilck* 1510), qui est assurément de Thèbes et date des mêmes années (155/4 a.C.). Voir Schwartz, p. 63, et ci-dessous, n. 39.

<sup>30</sup> Voir les remarques sur ce nom de M. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 240, s.v. *Colũv* |.

<sup>31</sup> Kornfeld, p. 73 et index *TAD*, vol. II, p. liii; vol. III, p. lxxv; vol. IV, p. lxxii.

<sup>32</sup> Un *Šbtj* (voir *DNB*, p. 964) dans une liste de liturgies de Thèbes, de 154/3 ou 143/2 a.C., *P.Bru.x.Dem.* 5 col. II.16; un *Ḥr-m'j-ḥsj s' Šbtj* (Harmiousis, f. de Šabbethay, avec corr. *DNB*, p. 964) dans un contrat de mariage de 108 a.C., *P.Tor.Botti* 22v.9, où notre homme figure dans la liste des témoins (la majorité des autres noms sont égyptiens, avec quelques noms grecs); une *Ta-p'-i'ḥ(?) t' rm.t Šbtj* (Tapooh?, femme de Šabbethay) dans un reçu de versement de l'impôt sur le sel, Thèbes, III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., DO Wien 129.1 (S. Wångsted, "Demotische Ostraka aus ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit" [*Orientalia Suecana* 18 1969] 72-4; *DNB*, p. 964). Cette dame se retrouve dans *O.Mattha* 134.1. Un *Šbtj*, père de *Tsjths*, apparaît dans DO BM 25139.1-2 (*DNB*, p. 964 avec corr.), un reçu sur ostracon de 88 a.C. Enfin, un *Šbtj* est mentionné dans DO Berlin P 765.12 (S. Wångsted, "Demotische Bescheinigungen und Abrechnungen" [*Orientalia Suecana* 22 (1973)]

nyme de *Κολλοῦμις* n'est donc pas en soi une garantie de ce que ce nom est hébraïque. Si l'on ajoute que le nom hébraïque Šallûm est transcrit *Καλῦμις* en *CPR* XIII 4.115 et 134, *Κολλοῦμις* semble décidément rendre un nom nabatéen.

– (00) Ἀβδίας: voir le suivant, nn° 3 et 7. Cette transcription grecque correspondrait à *'bdyh* (Abdyah) des documents araméens d'Edfou.

– (1) Ἀβδιοῦς apparaît dans 8 ou 9 documents, qui correspondent à un minimum de 4 individus différents d'après leur filiation (marqués par un \*). La transcription grecque correspond à *'bdyhw* (Abdyahû) des documents araméens d'Edfou.<sup>33</sup>

–\*1. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 73.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 153, Thèbes, 162 a.C.): *Κίμων Ἀβδιοῦτος*, contribuable effectuant un versement en blé.

–\*2. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 65.6 (*O.Wilck.* 1516, Thèbes, 151 a.C.): *Ἀβδιοῦς Καροῦρις*. Abdious est un fonctionnaire employé de la banque de Thèbes. Il est lettré en grec.

–\*?3. Je ne sais s'il faut résoudre par Ἀβδίας ou par Ἀβδιοῦς le génitif du *C.Pap.Jud.* I 75.3 (*O.Wilck.* 721, Thèbes, 160/59 a.C.): *Ἰώκητος Ἀβδίου*, un paysan de Hiéra Nèsos.

–\*4. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 109.2 et 6 (*O.Wilck.* 1231 [voir *BL* II, p. 97], hte Ég., ptol.). Il s'agit d'un fermier de l'impôt, qui travaille en association avec un Théodoros et un Skymnos. Il est lettré en grec.

–5. *BGU* X 2009.3 (prov. inconnue, 179/8 a.C.): *Ἀβδιοῦς Ἰωκήπου*. A identifier avec nn° 1, 3, ou 8?

–6. *BGU* X 2009.4 (prov. inconnue, 179/8 a.C.): *[Ἀβδ]ίους Καββαταίου*. A identifier avec nn° 1, 3, ou 8?

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18-20; *DNB*, p. 964), un compte concernant du vin (?), de Thèbes (?), probablement 19/18 a.C.

<sup>33</sup> La racine *'bd*, "serviteur de," est pan-sémitique, et fréquente dans les noms théophores, en raison de son sens. Elle a donné aussi divers hypocoristiques selon les aires linguistiques. La forme juive classique en est *'bdyh*, *'bdyhw*, "Serviteur de Yah," ou "de Yahû." Le premier est rendu par Obadyah dans la vocalisation massorétique de l'hébreu, par Ἀβδίας dans les textes grecs et dans les sources documentaires. C'est cette forme théophore abrégée en *-yah* qui est en usage à l'époque hellénistique. La forme longue en *-yahû* est plus représentative de l'époque perse. C'est de cette dernière, me semble-t-il, qu'il faut rapprocher le grec Ἀβδιοῦς.

-7. *BGU* X 2009.3 (prov. inconnue, 179/8 a.C.): [... ]γονις Ἀβδίου. Cet individu est probablement le fils de l'un ou l'autre des deux précédents. A ramener à un nominatif Ἀβδιοῦς plutôt qu'à Ἀβδίακ, d'après les deux précédents.

-8. *BGU* VI 1454.3 (prov. inconnue, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.), en graphie démotique: 'btjw' (voir *DNB*, p. 96, qui cite le document comme O. Berl P 8690). Le document contenant plusieurs noms juifs, le rapprochement avec les documents thébains est séduisant. Le porteur est peut-être à identifier avec l'un des précédents.

?- Enfin, un Διονύσιος Ἀβδιῶτος a immortalisé son nom au Memnonion d'Abydos (Perdrizet, *Graffites d'Abydos*, n. 206). Il est difficile de déterminer la provenance du porteur et son appartenance ethnique. Le nom pourrait correspondre à un prototype nabatéen plutôt qu'au nôtre.

-(000) Ἀβιῆλος? ou bien Ἀβιῆτος? Voir ci-dessous.

-(2) Ἀβραμος est attesté pour un porteur dans un ostracon thébain de 165 a.C., *C.Pap.Jud.* I 50.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 49). Le nom équivaut à 'brm (Abram) de *TAD* D8.4.23.<sup>34</sup>

-(3) Ἀκίβιος figure comme patronyme dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* I 114.2 (*O.Bodl.* I 301, Thèbes?<sup>35</sup>, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.): Καμβαταίωι Ἀκίβιος, un contribuable d'un impôt non mentionné. Le nom ainsi transcrit est Ḥšyb (Ḥaššīb). La racine est attestée à Edfou, mais sur un schème vocalique différent, Ḥšwb (Ḥaššúb) (*TAD* D8.6.11).<sup>36</sup>

-(4) Δελλαίακ<sup>37</sup> est connu par un ostracon de haute Égypte, *C.Pap.Jud.* I 121.3 (*O.Ashm.* 12), du II<sup>e</sup> ou I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. Probablement le receveur du paiement, sans que l'on puisse dire s'il s'agit d'un fermier de l'impôt ou d'un fonctionnaire. La transcription Δελλαίακ

<sup>34</sup> Sur ce nom, voir ci-dessus, n. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Voir Schwartz, p. 63, et note 39 ci-dessous.

<sup>36</sup> Les deux noms sont formés sur la racine ḥšb, attestée dans l'onomastique hébraïque d'époque perse, ainsi que dans l'onomastique araméenne. En hébreu, le nom Ḥašibyah, "Yah a projeté (l'enfant)" est attesté dans les livres bibliques d'époque perse (Néh. 10.26). On a vu (ci-dessus, n. 23) que la racine n'est pas attestée à Éléphantine d'après les index du *TAD*. Pour la racine et les attestations diverses, voir Kornfeld, p. 51; Zadok, p. 419.

<sup>37</sup> Lecture de l'*ed. pr.* confirmée par M. Wittek, *O.Bodl.* III, p. 26.

correspond fidèlement à l'hébreu *Dlyh*, porté par deux individus différents à Edfou ( *TAD* D8.7.1 et D1.17.2).<sup>38</sup>

–(5) La forme *Δελλοῦς* conservée dans un document thébain,<sup>39</sup> semble bien correspondre à *Dlwy* (Dallûy), le diminutif du précédent. Un *Δελλοῦς* *Κίμωνος* (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 107.9 [*O.Wilck.* 1233 avec *BL* II, p. 97-8], 154/3 a.C.) se charge d'écrire le reçu d'un versement au titre de l'impôt sur la pêche, pour le compte du fermier de l'impôt, *Κίμων* *Ἰαζάρου*.

–(?) *Ἰαείρης* est attesté dans un ostracon de haute Égypte d'époque ptolémaïque, *C.Pap.Jud.* I 109.3 (*O.Wilck.* 1231; voir *BL* II, p. 97), où apparaît également le nom *Ἀβδιοῦς* (ci-dessus, n° 4). Il correspond à un nom lu sur une stèle funéraire de Hagir Esna (en aval d'Edfou<sup>40</sup>), *TAD* D21.16.3 (fin III<sup>e</sup> ou déb. II<sup>e</sup> s.).<sup>41</sup> Cependant, le rapport avec les sites qui nous intéressent, Thèbes et Edfou, est mince.

–(6) *Ἰάζαρος* rend une forme théophorique formée sur la racine 'zr, *Iô'azar* "Yô a secouru." Le nom *Y'zr* (Y(o)ezer) semble attesté dans le papyrus *TAD* C3.28.85, où il est effacé:<sup>42</sup>

-1. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 107.2 (*O.Wilck.* 1233; voir *BL* II, p. 97-8, 154/3 a.C.): *Κίμων* *Ἰαζάρου*.

<sup>38</sup> Sur ce nom, voir ci-dessus, n. 23.

<sup>39</sup> La provenance thébaine est confirmée, comme l'a montré J. Schwartz, p. 63, par le rapprochement avec d'autres ostraca: avant tout, *C.Pap.Jud.* I 90 (*O.Wilck.* 1255, 153 a.C.), qui concerne le même "Simon fils de Iazaros, le percepteur" s'acquittant à son tour d'un impôt en nature, versé au grenier de Diospolis Magna. J. Schwartz a proposé d'identifier également ce Simon, fils de Iazaros, avec le Simon des *C.Pap.Jud.* I 61-3 (*O.Wilck.* 337, 339, 340), qui effectue des versements au titre de ce même impôt sur la pêche, à la banque de Diospolis Magna, en cette même année 153. Plus généralement, Schwartz, p. 63, estime très probable que l'ensemble du lot d'ostraca de la Bodléienne repris dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* I provienne de Thèbes.

<sup>40</sup> Voir la carte de *TAD* IV, p. 304.

<sup>41</sup> Le nom signifie "que Dieu illumine (la face du nouveau-né)" (*IPN*, p. 204, et 27sq.). Il n'est pas inconnu en Palestine à l'époque gréco-romaine: Ilan, p. 111, en relève 8 porteurs.

<sup>42</sup> C'est la forme plus courante *'zryh* (Azaryah) qui est attestée à Éléphantine: Kornfeld, p. 66; *TAD* index, vol. II, p. li; III, p. lxiii; IV, p. lxix.

-?2. Le *DNB*, p. 92, signale un *J<sup>c</sup>sr*, dans le document inédit BM 10517.5, dont le nom est donné comme une transcription du même prototype hébraïque (Yeho<sup>c</sup>azar). La provenance du document n'est pas signalée, non plus que sa date. Il est peut-être à identifier au précédent.

-(7) Ἰακῖβις: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 27, col. II.7 et col. III.1 (*P.Haun.* I 11, Thèbes, 158 a.C.). Iasibis est un officier de cavalerie (Ἰακῖβιος | ἐπιτάτου ἱππαρχίας). Le nom a son équivalent dans les documents araméens d'Edfou (*TAD* D8.9.3, [Y]šyb, et probablement aussi 1.2, [Yš]lyb; *TAD* D7.56.1, Yšyb).<sup>43</sup>

-(8) Σεπταῖος, Σεφθάϊς: Ces deux formes transcrivent le nom hébraïque Šefaṭyah, "Yah est juge," ou "a jugé." Le nom n'est pas attesté dans les documents araméens d'Edfou, mais il est typique de l'époque perse.<sup>44</sup>

-1. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 139.4 (*O.Edfou* III 368): Σεφθάϊς. L'interprétation du nom est certaine, dans la mesure où notre homme apparaît aux côtés d'un Ἰώκητος (ll. 5, 9), (mais aussi d'un Θημᾶς, dont le nom est plutôt araméen).<sup>45</sup> Cette fois, nous sommes à Edfou, au I<sup>er</sup> siècle a.C.

<sup>43</sup> Il s'agit du nom hébraïque Yašib/Yašûb (Nb. 26.24; 1 Chron. 1.7; Ezra 10.29). Yašib signifie "que (Yah) fasse revenir," et Yašûb, "Que (Yah) revienne" (voir *IPN*, p. 213, Grelot, p. 498, et Kornfeld, p. 55). Les deux noms présentent des traits caractéristiques de l'onomastique d'époque perse (forme verbale à l'inchoatif), mais les occurrences documentaires en sont rares: Zadok, p. 429, retient une seule occurrence documentaire, hormis celle d'Edfou, pour Yašib. Yašûb, Zadok, p. 428, est rare également, avec deux occurrences pour l'époque perse.

<sup>44</sup> Le nom Šefaṭyah est peut-être attesté une fois à Éléphantine, mais la lecture en est incertaine (*TAD*, vol. III, p. lxvi). La liste des occurrences de Zadok, p. 456, montre cependant que le nom est assez bien représenté ailleurs, dans la Bible comme dans les sources documentaires.

<sup>45</sup> On doit probablement rapprocher Θημᾶς du nom dont la forme normative est Θαιμός. Ce dernier est un nom arabe. La racine, *tym*, signifie "esclave," "serviteur," d'où les nombreux noms propres signifiant "serviteur (de la divinité)." A. Caquot, "Sur l'onomastique religieuse de Palmyre," *Syria* 39 (1962) 231-56, p. 239, relève que les noms composés de cette racine ne se retrouvent qu'en nabatéen, sud-arabe, nord-arabe épigraphique et littéraire, à Doura et dans les inscriptions grecques. Mais c'est par contre l'un des plus fréquents dans ces dialectes (Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 204sq., s.v. Θαιμός). Θεμός est également une forme



-2. *BGU X 2009.4* (prov. inconnue, 179/8 a.C.): Σεπταῖος Σεπταί[ου].

-(9) Venons-en au nom 'Αβιήτης/'Αβιήτος. On en reconnaît 8 ou 9 attestations, représentant un minimum de 4 porteurs (marqués par un \*).

-\*1. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 48.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 46; Thèbes, 171/70 a.C.): 'Αβιήτος | [...]μουῖτος. Un fermier de l'impôt sur le vin, travaillant avec des associés.

-2. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 74.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 156; Thèbes?, 160 a.C.): 'Ινδῶς | 'Αβιήτσου. La lecture du nom et du patronyme est confirmée par M. Wittek, *O.Bodl.* III, pp. 30 et 24; il doit s'agir d'une erreur de scribe. Un paysan acquittant un impôt en nature. Voir l'entrée suivante?

-\*3-4. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 87.3 (*O.Wilck.* 1505; voir *BL* II, p. 116; Thèbes, 154 a.C.): Καμβαταῖος 'Αβιήτου | Ποανεμοῦν. A identifier avec le Καμβαῖθαῖος τοῦ 'Αβιήτου (lecture sic) de *C.Pap.Jud.* I 117.1 (*O.Bodl.* I 300; Thèbes, 154 a.C.). Peut-être fils de l'Abiētos de *C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.2 (*O.Bodl.* I 252, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.): 'Αβιήτωι, et frère de Ièsous (l. 5): 'Ιησοῦτι 'Αβιήτου.<sup>46</sup> Il semble s'agir de paysans.<sup>47</sup>

-5. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 105.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 118; Thèbes [Schwartz] 155 ou 144 a.C.): 'Αβιήτης. Plutôt un fermier d'un impôt non pré-cisé, qu'un fonctionnaire d'une banque royale. A identifier avec le n° 1?

-\*6. *O.Ashm.Shelton* 42.1 (Thèbes, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.): 'Αβιήτηι ἐπι-στά[τηι τοῦ] | Περί Θήβας). Il s'agit du gouverneur du nome du Péri-Thèbes.<sup>48</sup>

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courante, mais Θαίμης et Θεμήης sont également attestées. Dans les cas de Θεμός, Θεμήης et de notre Θεμᾶς, la contraction *e* pour *ay* indique plutôt un dialecte araméen. Cette forme apocopée du nom de la divinité est fréquente, à côté de divers noms théophores où l'élément divin est exprimé, Θεμαρσᾶς/*Themarsas* à Palmyre et Doura (*P.Dura*, Index), *tymlyh* et *tym'lyh* en nabatéen (Cantineau, p. 155sq.). Ces dernières formes sont rendues en grec par Θαιμαλλᾶς/Θεμαλλᾶς.

<sup>46</sup> Lecture confirmée par M. Wittek, *O.Bodl.* III, p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Voir la note du *C.Pap.Jud.* I, p. 224, *ad loc.* Identifications proposées par J. Schwartz, p. 63.

<sup>48</sup> Sur le sens du mot *épistatès*, voir J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part 1: The Ptolemaic Epistrategos* Pap.Colon. 6

-\*7. Un ostracon, *SB* VI 9623.1 (Péri-Thèbes, 94 ou 61 a.C.): 'Αβήτης, un fermier de l'impôt sur la bière. Il rédige dans un grec très fautif un reçu de versement à un contribuable.

-8. *C.Pap.Jud.* I 101.2 (*O.Wilck.* 1513; voir *BL* II, p. 116; haute Égypte, 154/3 a.C.): Σίμων 'Αβιήτου. A identifier avec l'un des homonymes thébains?

-9. Au vu de la correction proposée par W. Clarysse à *O.Edfou* II 294,<sup>49</sup> où le premier éditeur, J. Manteuffel, avait lu 'Ακιῆλος (voir ci-dessous), il est peut-être préférable de corriger la lecture 'Αβιῆλος en 'Αβιῆτος, dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* I 66.5 (*O.Wilck.* 334; voir *BL* II, p. 55; Thèbes, 155 ou 144 a.C.), comme le suggéraient d'ailleurs déjà les éditeurs de ce recueil. Abièl/tos et Paiôn (1.4) sont probablement des fermiers associés de l'impôt sur les cordonniers. A identifier avec les nn°1 et/ou 5?

On peut donc établir un certain nombre d'équivalences entre des noms hébraïques ou araméens portés par des Juifs connus par les documents araméens d'Edfou et des noms repérables dans les documents grecs de Thèbes (ou de haute Égypte): 'Αβδιοῦς/'Abdyahû (Thèbes), 'Αβραμος/Abram (Thèbes), Δελλαίας/Delayah (Thèbes?), Δελλοῦς/Dallûy (Thèbes), 'Ιαcῖβις/Yašîb (Thèbes). Dans tous les cas, il s'agit de noms rares pour leur époque, voire rares dans l'absolu. Cette liste est suffisante pour garantir l'équivalence, dans les mêmes circonstances, entre le nom araméen Abyétî, bien attesté dans les documents araméens d'Edfou, et seulement là, et le nom grec transcrit 'Αβιήτης/'Αβιῆτος, attesté uniquement à Thèbes et Edfou. Il n'y a pas lieu de maintenir les doutes exprimés par certains savants sur cette question.

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(Opladen 1975) 132-6. Le Péri-Thèbes (le "Grand Thèbes," pour reprendre l'expression de G. Bataille), est constitué en nome indépendant au IIe s. Voir J.D. Thomas, "The Theban Administrative District in the Roman Period," *JEA* 50 (1964) 139-43, en part. p. 139, citant G. Bataille, *Cd'É* 26 (1951) 344sq.

<sup>49</sup> Suivi par Nachtergaele, p. 45, comm. au n° 4. Voir ci-dessous.

### *Noms propres des documents d'époque romaine*

La documentation d'Edfou d'époque julio-claudienne repose essentiellement sur les ostraca démotiques.<sup>50</sup> Ces derniers ont livré quelques porteurs de noms juifs, que l'on peut répartir en deux groupes familiaux et quelques individus isolés.<sup>51</sup> A une possible ex-

<sup>50</sup> B. Menu, *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 121.

<sup>51</sup> Voici la liste de ces noms, basée sur le dépouillement de B. Menu, *Hommages Sauneron*; *BIFAO* 79 (1979) et 80 (1980), avec les corrections de Zauzich et du *DNB*. La publication d'ostraca supplémentaires dans *Bd'É* 81, signalée par Zauzich (dans sa liste des ostraca démotiques d'Edfou publiés jusqu'en 1984, p. 83-6), n'a été utilisée qu'indirectement, à travers les références de Zauzich et du *DNB*. Le *DNB* ne reprend qu'une partie des corrections de Zauzich. *OD IFAO* est abrégé en *OD*. B. Menu (*Hommages Sauneron*, note à n. 2), signale que les noms grecs et juifs sont suivis du déterminatif étranger, ce qui oriente le déchiffrement. On peut reconstituer les deux familles sur trois générations chacune. Particulièrement bien représentée est la famille de *Thwmstjs* (s:) *Jqwbs*, Thaumastès (?), fils de Jakoubès. Ce dernier est connu par *OD* 462.2-3 (*Thwmstjs* (s:) *Jqw-/bs*), (an 24 d'Auguste, taxe de la capitation, *Hommages Sauneron*, p. 263, n° 1), et probablement aussi par *OD* 5.1-2, où B. Menu lit *Thwmsth's* / (s:) *'ghwts* (an 4 de Tibère?, capitation, *BIFAO* 79, p. 129, n° 20). Trois fils de *Thwmstjs* sont connus: *Nygy's s' Thwms/tj's* (Nikias, f. de T.), *OD* 91.2-3 (an 36 d'Auguste, capitation; *BIFAO* 79, p. 126, n° 11, avec corr. Zauzich, p. 70; *DNB*, p. 930); *Yšhg* (s:) *Thwms-/tj's* (Yiṣḥak, f. de T.), *OD* 51.1-2 (an 4 de Tibère?, *BIFAO* 79, p. 127, n° 16, avec corr. Zauzich, p. 73); *Y'qwb's s' Thwms-/tj's* (Jacobès, fils de T.), *OD* 106.2-3 (an 34 d'Auguste, impôt sur le sel; *BIFAO* 79, p. 137, n° 29). Dans ces trois derniers cas, Menu vocalise *Thwmstj's* "Theomestias," alors qu'elle vocalise "Thémistios" pour *OD* 462, et "Themesthos" dans *OD* 106, en fonction de l'orthographe flottante du nom en démotique tel qu'elle le lit.

Un autre groupe d'ostraca tourne autour du personnage de *J'sw* (s:) *Tbh* (?) (Iešou [fils de] ?). Comme le note Zauzich, p. 70, cet individu est connu par trois documents: *OD* 625.2 (an 37 d'Auguste, capitation; *Hommages Sauneron*, p. 266, n° 10); *OD* 626.1 (an 1 de Tibère, taxe compensatoire pour le travail des digues; *Hommages Sauneron*, p. 271, n° 25); *OD* 624.1-2 (an 39 d'Auguste, capitation; *Hommages Sauneron*, p. 268, n° 15). L'interprétation du patronyme, *Tbh*, proposée par Zauzich, suivi par *DNB*, p. 1276, par rapprochement avec la Septante, est impossible. Le nom de *Tbh* est peut-être attesté une fois dans la Septante, pour l'époque des patriarches, mais il est inusité par ailleurs. Le *J'swt s' J'sw* (?), f. de Iešou) d'*OD* 165.2 (an 28 d'Auguste, paiement en argent d'une redevance en blé, *BIFAO* 80, p. 186sq., n° 32) est probablement son fils, malgré la différence de graphie pour le patronyme. Le nom de ce fils est probablement hébraïque lui aussi, mais la présente lecture est difficile à interpréter telle quelle. Il faut probablement reconnaître un deuxième fils dans le *Gj'tj's s' J'sw* (Gytias, f. de

ception près, les ostraca de l'époque d'Auguste et Tibère publiés par B. Menu (des reçus de paiement) présentent une onomastique juive banale pour l'époque hellénistique. L'exception possible concerne le nom *Sqwr*, dans lequel Zauzich propose de voir une transcription de l'hébreu Zakkûr. Ce nom apparaît comme patronyme d'un *Ḥnj's* (Annaïos ou Ananias), dans *OD IFAO* 120.2 (an 29 d'Auguste, impôt sur les fruits).<sup>52</sup> Il s'ajoute donc peut-être au nom Σεφθαίς de *C.Pap. Jud.* I 139 (*O.Edfou* III 368) de basse époque hellénistique vu ci-dessus.

Les documents grecs de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> et du début du II<sup>e</sup> s. p.C., par contre, réservent quelques surprises. On y retrouve, en effet, le nom d'Abiètès/Abiètōs, au moins deux fois, dont une parmi les contribuables de l'impôt juif:

-1 *C.Pap.Jud.* II 227.1 (*O.Deiss.* 33; 116 p.C.): Μαρία Ἀβιήτου, acquitte l'impôt juif.<sup>53</sup>

-2 Nachtergaele, p. 45, n° 4.1, un ostracon de 91 p.C.: Παπίας Ἀβιήτου, acquitte "la redevance sur le petit bétail du ressort sacré." Nachtergaele, d'après une suggestion de W. Clarysse, propose de reconnaître cette personne dans les *O.Edfou* II 293-4,<sup>54</sup> où le patronyme avait été lu Ἀκιῆλος par le premier éditeur, "nom inexistant." C'est au vu de cette correction que j'en propose un certain nombre d'autres, sous réserve d'une vérification de l'original (Ἀβιῆλος ci-dessus p. 81, et Ἀκιῆτος ci-après).

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"Iésous") d'*OD* 65.2 (an 36 d'Auguste, capitation; *BIFAO* 79, p. 124, n° 7). En *OD* 624-6, B. Menu lisait également *J'sw* pour *J'sw*.

Trois individus isolés portent également des noms ou patronymes juifs: *Ljthwn* / (*s'*) *Snpthjn* (?) (Lythō f. de Sambathion), *OD* 140.1-2 (an 27 d'Auguste, paiement de la capitation; *BIFAO* 79, p. 122, n° 2, avec corr. Zauzich, p. 74; *DNB*, p. 930); *Ywts* (*s'*) *Lwsj* (Ioudas f. de Lysi[machos?]), *OD* 55.1 (an 4 de Tibère?; *BIFAO* 79, p. 128, n° 17, avec corr. Zauzich, p. 71); et *Ḥnj's* (*s'*) *Sqwr* (Annaïos ou Ananias (fils de) Zakkour), *OD* 120.2 (an 29 d'Auguste, impôt sur les fruits; *BIFAO* 79, p. 135, n° 26, avec corr. Zauzich, p. 71 et 74; *DNB* p. 786 et 941).

<sup>52</sup> *BIFAO* 79, p. 135, n° 26, avec corr. Zauzich, p. 71 et 74; *DNB* p. 786 et 941.

<sup>53</sup> Sur ce document, voir G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents illustrating Early Christianity*. Vol. 4 (Macquarie University 1987) 229.

<sup>54</sup> *Rapports II. Tell Edfou 1938*, édité par K. Michalowski et al. (Le Caire 1938).

–? Il faut peut-être corriger la lecture 'Ακιῆτος, proposée deux fois dans l'*editio princeps*, en 'Αβιῆτος: *C.Pap.Jud.* II 171.1 (*O.Edfou* I 127; 75 p.C.): Μαροῦς 'Ακιῆτ(ου) acquitte l'impôt juif. Les éditeurs du *C.Pap.Jud.* proposent cependant d'identifier la graphie transcrite par J. Manteuffel avec le nom romain Quietus. De fait, cette contribuable est associée sur le même ostracon avec un affranchi portant un *praenomen* et un *nomen* romains, 'Ακυντᾶς Καικιλίας (Q. Caecilius, l. 3), et des noms romains en transcription grecque sont attestés dans les ostraca d'Edfou. Le cas est donc incertain.

–? Même chose dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* II 292.1 (*O.Edfou* II 258; 93 p.C.), où l'*editio princeps*, reproduite dans le *C.Pap.Jud.*, donne 'Ακιῆτος Πατῆτος.

Non moins remarquable est la présence, dans trois ostraca contemporains, du nom 'Αβράμις/'Αβραμος.<sup>55</sup> Dans les deux premiers cas, il s'agit de reçus de versement de la *laographia*.

-1. *C.Pap.Jud.* II 365.1 (*O.Edfou* 154; 111 p.C.): 'Α]βραμος 'Ιακούβου.

-2. *C.Pap.Jud.* II 374.1 (*SB* I 5813; I<sup>er</sup> or II<sup>e</sup> s. p.C.): 'Αβράμις Θηγέν[ο]υ.

-3. *P.Stras.* V 361, col. II.6, une liste de noms à caractère immobilier (?) de la II<sup>e</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. p.C.<sup>56</sup>: 'Αβράμου . [

Pour le reste, une fois éliminés les noms clairement nabatéens ou palmyréniens retenus par erreur dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* II,<sup>57</sup> il ne

<sup>55</sup> Voir la discussion détaillée dans mon "Abraham in Egypt" (n. 15).

<sup>56</sup> Voir Schwartz, p. 77.

<sup>57</sup> Noms arabes et araméens non juifs: Αὔλαιος (*C.Pap.Jud.* II 295.1; 405.5), de la racine 'wl (Harding, p. 449); Αὐνῆς ? (428 col. I.11), à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un nom égyptien, comme me le suggère Willy Clarysse; [Σα?]φ[ι]ς (412.1); Βάρναβις (331.2; plutôt palmyrénien); Μελχίων (200.1; 214; 216, etc., araméen); Κορταῖς (405.5, en association avec Aulaios), Κυλαῖς ( ) (430.12, si la lecture est à conserver); Φαυκάς (428 col. I.12). 'Αβδοῦς (*C.Pap.Jud.* II 408a) peut être ambigu, mais il faut probablement y voir la forme apocopée arabe, et non une déformation du nom juif 'Αβδιοῦς de l'époque hellénistique. Comparer le nom hybride féminin Θιννεβδοῦς (*O.Wilck.* 210 + *BL* II, p. 50, Syène, 146 p.C.), à côté de Θιναβδελλᾶς (*O.Wilck.* 1157, Éléphantine [*BL* II, p. 94], 110 p.C.). Δαλλέας 'Αβραΐμου (*C.Pap.Jud.* II 284.1 [C. Wessely, *Stud.Pal.* XIII, p. 8, n. 1; *SB* I 5811]) et Δαλλέας 'Αβραΐμου (Nachtergaele, pp. 45sq., nn° 5 et 6). Le nom comme le patro-

reste que quelques noms ambigus, dont on ne peut déterminer si les porteurs en sont juifs, nabatéens, palmyréniens, ou autres. En voici la liste:

– Ἰάκυκος: père de Μέριν dans *C.Pap.Jud.* II 163.1.

– Μάρθα: *C.Pap.Jud.* II 147.2 et 6; 148.4, 9, 13, 18, 25: dans la mesure où les ostraca de haute Égypte attestent la présence d'une population nabatéenne et palmyrénienne, le nom est ambigu comme marqueur ethnique. Il est commun à tous les dialectes araméens, et les fonds onomastiques nabatéens et palmyréniens comprennent des noms araméens à côté des noms arabes.<sup>58</sup>

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nyme sont nabatéens. Δαλ(λ)έας est formé sur la racine *dlw*, "retirer, délivrer" ("[la divinité] a délivré"), que l'on retrouve dans le nom théophore juif Delayah, mais cette racine est attestée dans d'autres langues sémitiques que l'hébreu. Δελάιλος, "El a délivré," est ainsi attesté dans la zone nabatéenne, et sur les stèles iduméennes d'Hermoupolis Magna de 80/69 a.C. (*I. Hermoupolis* 5 [SB I 4206.210 et 107], un père et son fils). Pour l'emploi de cette racine dans des noms théophores non juifs, voir plus généralement M.D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 7 (Missoula 1976) 71.

L'anthroponyme Ἀβράιμος est composé de l'élément pan-sémitique 'b, "le père," qui désigne la divinité, et la racine araméenne *rḥm*, "aimer," "chérir," bien attestée dans l'onomastique nabatéenne et plus généralement arabe (Cantineau, p. 146). Le nom 'brḥm est attesté dans les inscriptions arabes pré-islamiques (Harding, p. 11). Par ailleurs, la racine verbale *rḥm* entre en composé de noms propres, comme *rḥmbl*, à côté des deux formes apocopées *rḥmy* et *rḥmh*, et de *rḥmt* (Cantineau, *ibid.*; Ryckmans, p. 123; Harding, p. 273). L'élément 'b est bien attesté dans l'onomastique nabatéenne (Cantineau, p. 54; Ryckmans, p. 1). Le nom signifierait "le père aime" (dans le sens de "la divinité aime l'enfant qui vient de naître"). Le diminutif arabe *Ruḥaym* est attesté en zone linguistique arabe (Harding, p. 274). Il faut peut-être lire le nom Ἀβρουαίμου, qui est associé au patronyme Ἀβγαρος, dans *Stud.Pal.* XXII, 4 col. II.18, à la place de Αβ[ . ]ιαίμου lu par l'éditeur, C. Wessely.

<sup>58</sup> Ce nom, qui signifie "Dame, maîtresse" en araméen (*Mrt'* est le féminin de *Mr'*, "Seigneur") est sans doute le nom féminin le plus courant du Proche-Orient. Sartre, *Bostra*, s.v. Μαρθεινη, le reconnaît très fréquent en Syrie du Nord, même s'il semble ignoré dans la zone nabatéenne. Martha est en outre très répandu hors de la zone araméophone proprement dite. Voir L. Robert dans N. Firatli, *Stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris 1964) 171, qui donne une liste détaillée d'occurrences dispersées; références complémentaires dans L. Robert, *Études déliennes* (BCH Suppl. I 1973) 444 et n. 62. En Judée, 21 occurrences sont relevées par T. Ilan, p. 423sq., dont 4 en caractères grecs.

– Μέριν: fils de Ἰάκιμος, *C.Pap.Jud.* II 163.1: même ambiguïté que pour Martha, en l'absence d'association avec un nom plus explicite.

– Σελεμών: *C.Pap.Jud.* II 198.1: encore un nom ambigu, la racine *slm/šlm* étant pan-semitique, et la vocalisation non dirimante. La désinence suggère peut-être un nom nabatéen, ces derniers étant caractérisés par la finale en *o/u*.

Ces résultats sont maigres pour soutenir des conclusions étoffées. On se contentera de suggérer que la survie du nom Abiètès/Abiètōs, à quatre ou cinq siècles d'intervalle, laisse supposer que ce nom était effectivement fréquent à l'époque hellénistique à Edfou. On a peut-être un indice indirect de la popularité du nom dans le fait que l'auteur de la *Lettre d'Aristée* l'a retenu pour composer sa liste des 72 traducteurs de la Septante (Ἀβιήτης, ch. 50). Cette liste allie des noms juifs banals et quelques touches d'exotisme, dont celui-ci, ou encore Abramōs (Ἀβραμως, ch. 49).

## II. Histoire de la colonie d'Edfou

Les données prosopopographiques étant ainsi établies, essayons de voir dans la deuxième partie de cette étude quels enseignements on peut tirer de ce dossier.

Le premier point à examiner est la solution de continuité géographique qui existe, pour l'époque hellénistique, entre les documents araméens, fort probablement tous liés à Edfou, et la zone d'attestation des noms en transcription grecque correspondant aux noms araméens, qui semble être Thèbes essentiellement. On pourrait *a priori* en tirer la conclusion qu'il convient d'être plus réservé sur l'attribution à un site précis des ostraca araméens achetés sur le marché des antiquités. Rouvrir cette question ne nous mènerait cependant guère loin en l'absence de nouvelles données.

Une deuxième hypothèse *a priori* envisageable, pour expliquer à la fois les ressemblances entre les noms propres juifs d'Edfou et de Thèbes et le décalage chronologique entre les deux corpus de données, serait que la communauté d'Edfou fut transplantée à Thèbes au II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Un tel cas de transplantation est connu pour le

*politeuma* iduméen, qui passe de Memphis à Hermoupolis Magna vers le début du I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. L'ostracon *O.Edfou* III 368 (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 139), qui atteste la présence d'un Sephthaïs aux côtés d'un Iosepos à Edfou au I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C., fait écarter cette solution. Il prouve que l'on trouve encore, à basse époque hellénistique, des traces du vieux peuplement juif dans l'onomastique d'Edfou.<sup>59</sup> Il semble donc bien que l'on ait affaire à *deux* groupes différents de population juive, dont l'histoire présente des traits communs (origine commune?), et/ou qui entretenaient des rapports étroits, au moins au niveau informel (liens matrimoniaux?). On n'a cependant aucun document permettant de savoir si les Juifs de Thèbes formaient une colonie<sup>60</sup> aussi structurée que ceux d'Edfou.

#### *Anthroponymie et datation*

Essayons de reconstituer l'histoire de la colonie d'Edfou. On a vu ci-dessus que les anthroponymes hébraïques des documents araméens sont aux trois-quarts typiques de l'époque perse, quelques noms, notamment Simon et Shelomsion, étant à l'inverse de formation tardive (IV<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.), et bien attestés à l'époque hellénistique. A première vue, ces données suggèrent une immigration au IV<sup>e</sup> s. ou au tout début du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Un autre scénario, cependant, est envisageable, qui non seulement s'accorderait peut-être mieux avec les données onomastiques elles-mêmes, mais est en outre suggéré par quelques indices supplémentaires: un noyau d'origine arrivé avant la conquête macédonienne, et renforcé par au moins une vague d'immigration ultérieure, ou bien par une immigration continue, les nouveaux arrivants se fondant dans la vieille colonie sans entraîner sa disparition. L'hypothèse d'une immigration permettrait d'expliquer la présence de noms de formation tardive—à moins que le jugement des spécialistes sur l'histoire des noms Simon et Shelomsion ne soit à réviser, de même que l'on doit réviser, au vu de la documentation d'Edfou et de Thèbes, l'opinion selon laquelle Abram/Abraham est inusité comme anthroponyme

<sup>59</sup> Le cas du nom Abiètos des ostraca de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> et du début du II<sup>e</sup> s. étant plus ambigu, comme on verra ci-dessous, je le laisse de côté ici.

<sup>60</sup> Je préfère utiliser ce terme, plutôt que celui de "communauté," dans la mesure où les connotations m'en paraissent plus neutres.



avant une date bien ultérieure. Il peut s'agir de noms rares, et de ce fait non attestés dans les sources antérieures au IV<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.

L'idée d'une immigration ultérieure se voit renforcée, avec cependant les mêmes réserves que pour les noms Simon et Shelomsion, par quelques noms qui apparaissent dans les documents grecs et démotiques d'Edfou de basse époque hellénistique et du début de l'époque romaine, et qui non seulement ne sont pas attestés dans les ostraca araméens plus anciens, mais sont d'une façon générale rares ou inusités avant l'époque hellénistique: Joseph (*O.Edfou* III 368.5, 9), Isaac (*O.D.* 51.1-2), et Jacob (*O.D.* 462.2-3 et 106.2). Les trois porteurs connus par les ostraca démotiques sont de la même famille, le premier Jacob étant le grand-père de son homonyme ainsi que d'Isaac. Joseph est déjà attesté à l'époque perse, même si le nom ne devient courant qu'à l'époque suivante—on peut ainsi rapprocher la courbe de popularité de ce nom de celle de Simon et Shelomsion. Jacob semble encore rare à l'époque perse, tandis qu'Isaac n'est pas attesté.<sup>61</sup> Incidemment, les noms d'Isaac et Joseph se rencontrent déjà dans les ostraca grecs thébains du II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.,<sup>62</sup> où ils constituent, avec Simon et éventuellement Iesous,<sup>63</sup> les

<sup>61</sup> Zadok, p. 424, atteste 5 occurrences littéraires du nom Joseph, dont une au tournant des VI<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., et une autre au temps d'Esdras. Ilan, p. 150-7, en a 231 (dont 10 sont des personnages fictifs), ce qui en fait le deuxième nom par ordre de popularité pour l'époque gréco-romaine. Pour Isaac, Zadok, p. 427, ne retient que le nom du patriarche biblique. Pour la Judée post-maccabéenne, Ilan, p. 174-5, relève 12 occurrences, dont 8 correspondent à des individus historiques (4 sont des personnages littéraires). Pour Jacob, Zadok, p. 408, donne deux références bibliques hormis le patriarche, l'une de la génération d'Esdras, l'autre de celle de Néhémie. Ilan, p. 82, a 8 porteurs, dont un fictif.

<sup>62</sup> Un Ἰσάκις fils de Straton en *C.Pap.Jud.* I 78.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 163) et 79.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 164), de 155 et 151 a.C. Un Ἰωσήπος fils de Menedoros est mentionné en *C.Pap.Jud.* I 113.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 285) (attribution à Thèbes d'après J. Schwartz), III<sup>e</sup> ou II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. L'individu est peut-être à identifier avec le Ἰωσήπος fils d'Abdias de *C.Pap.Jud.* I 75.3 (*O.Wilck.* 721) de 160/59 a.C. Un autre Ἰωσήπος est connu par *C.Pap.Jud.* I 100.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 233), 101.4 (*O.Wilck.* 1513 + *BL* II, p. 116) et 102.4 (*O.Wilck.* 1514 + *BL* *ibid.*), de 155/4 (101) et 154/3 a.C. (100 and 102). Enfin, un Ἰώσηπος, père de Pythangelos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 89.3 (*O.Wilck.* 729 + *BL* II, p. 74), 154 a.C., et un Ἰωσήπος, père d' Abdious, dans *BGU* X 2009.3 de la 1<sup>ère</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s., de provenance inconnue (Thèbes?).

<sup>63</sup> Un Ἰησοῦς fils d'Abietos, dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.5. (*O.Bodl.* I 252), de Thèbes, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Trois ou peut-être quatre Cίμων, dont deux associés à des noms

seuls noms typiques de l'époque hellénistique, et Isaac, Joseph et peut-être aussi Jacob apparaissent dans des ostraca démotiques de haute Égypte.<sup>64</sup>

Les points de comparaison nous manquent pour pouvoir dater avec plus de précision les caractéristiques de l'onomastique hébraïque des Juifs d'Edfou. On peut cependant poser un cadre général, à l'aide de quelques autres dossiers: d'une part, Éléphantine, d'autre part, Trikomia et Samareia, deux villages de l'Arsinoïte dans lesquels la présence de colonies juives est relativement bien documentée pour le III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.<sup>65</sup> La colonie juive de Samareia est attestée dès 232 a.C. (*CPR XVIII* 7, 8, 9 et 11; voir aussi *P.Enteux.* 23 [*C.Pap.Jud.* I 128] de 218 a.C.).<sup>66</sup> Le nombre important de noms grecs dans ces papyrus prouve qu'il ne s'agit pas de la première génération d'immigrants. Ces Juifs sont donc arrivés dans la première moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. On identifie encore un certain nombre de noms

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du vieux fonds d'époque perse: l'un est fils d'un Abdious (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 73.5 [*O.Bodl.* I 153], Thèbes, 162 a.C.), l'autre, d'un Iazaros (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 90.3 [*O.Wilck.* 1255] et *C.Pap.Jud.* I 107.2 [*O.Wilck.* 1253 + *BL* II, p. 97-8], Thèbes, 154/3 et 153 (90 a.C.).

<sup>64</sup> Un reçu de versement de blé pour la nourriture de l'Ibis de l'an 29 de Ptolémée VI Philométor ou Ptolémée VIII Évergète II fait connaître un *ʾjshg s Sbrbwns* (Isaac, fils de ?; *O.Mattha* 233.1; DNB, p. 3). L'éditeur suggère une provenance d'Ombos pour cet ostracon. Le nom Joseph figure sur un ostracon démotique qui révèle un groupe de Juifs unis comme contractants, *BGU* VI 1454.1: *Jsp* (Yosef), est patronyme d'un *ʾrstmns* (Aristomenes). La présence d'un *Šbtj* (Šabbethay) f. de *ʾbdiwʾ* (Abdaïos/Abdious), ll. 2-3 dans le même document, fait songer à une provenance de haute Égypte, voire peut-être de Thèbes. Dans ce cas, ce Joseph est peut-être à identifier avec l'un de ses homonymes connus par les documents grecs. Sur les noms hébraïques de ce document, voir *DNB*, p. 1269, 967, 93, 964, 96). Je n'ai pu vérifier la provenance du O.Warschau UW 3254.3 (*DNB*, p. 92), qui fait connaître un *Jʾqwbs* (Iakoubos).

<sup>65</sup> Dans la mesure où T. Ilan a classé les occurrences de chaque nom non par ordre chronologique strict, mais par type de documents (sources littéraires, inscriptions épigraphiques, papyrus), et n'a présenté aucune synthèse concernant la répartition chronologique de ses sources, il est impossible de se faire une idée claire de l'onomastique des Juifs de Judée et de Samarie entre la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et le III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Je m'en tiens donc à la documentation égyptienne.

<sup>66</sup> Attribué à Samareia par C. Kuhs, *Das Dorf Samareia im griechisch-römischen Ägypten. Eine papyrologische Untersuchung*, Magisterarbeit Heidelberg, 1996, version pdf: <http://archiv.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/volltexte/1999/479/pdf/samareia.pdf>. Voir la liste prosopographique des p. 64-74.

juifs au milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. (*P.Tebt.* III 800 [*C.Pap.Jud.* I 133]).<sup>67</sup> Cependant, à deux exceptions près (*Ἀγγαῖς* et *Καββαῖος*),<sup>68</sup> aucun des noms hébraïques ne dénote particulièrement pour cette époque.<sup>69</sup>

Les listes de recensement incluant publiées dans *CPR* XIII, qui contiennent 34 noms hébraïques et araméens liés essentiellement au village de Trikomia, datent des années 253-231 a.C.<sup>70</sup> Dans la mesure où quelques patronymes grecs associés à des noms juifs semblent des traductions de noms hébraïques (notamment *Ἀγάθων*),<sup>71</sup> il semble que ces Juifs soient établis en Égypte depuis la génération des grands-parents. Cela fait remonter leur immigration à la 1<sup>ère</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s., voire à l'extrême fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Les noms juifs de Trikomia sont typiques d'une époque de transition. Une douzaine sur 34 peuvent être un héritage de l'époque perse, même si certains restent en usage à l'époque hellénistique. Ce

<sup>67</sup> La source de ces données est la liste prosopographique de C. Kuhs.

<sup>68</sup> *C.Pap.Jud.* I 28.19 (*P.Tebt.* III 882), 155 ou 144 a.C., et 47.7, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. (localisation à Samareia d'après C. Kuhs). Ilan ne retient que 6 occurrences historiquement valables pour le nom Ḥaggay (p. 93sq.), et 3 pour Sabba (dont un *Καββαῖος* en grec), p. 395sq.

<sup>69</sup> En voici la liste complète: *Ἀγγαῖς* (Kuhs n° 4, 155 ou 144 a.C.), *Ἰακοῦβις* (Kuhs nn° 53, comme nom et comme patronyme, 155 ou 144 a.C.; 65, comme patronyme, 155 ou 144 a.C.; 89, comme papponyme, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.), *Ἰωάννα* (n° 56, 153 ou 142 a.C.), *Ἰωάννης* (n° 57, 155 ou 144 a.C.), *Ἰωναθάς* (nn° 58, 218 a.C.; 59, comme nom et patronyme, 232 a.C.; 66, comme patronyme, 232 a.C.; 93, patronyme, 155 ou 144 a.C.), *Μάριον* (n° 65, 155 ou 144 a.C.), *Μάριος* (nn° 47, comme papponyme, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.; 90, comme patronyme, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.), *Καββαθαῖος* (nn° 88-93, avec variantes orthographiques, entre 201 et 155 ou 144 a.C.; 107, patronyme, 155 ou 144 a.C.), *Καββαῖος* (n° 90, patronyme, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.).

<sup>70</sup> Voir W. Clarysse, "Jews in Trikomia," dans A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992* (Copenhagen 1994) 193-203. Pour la date, D.J. Thompson, "Hellenistic Hellenes: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt," dans I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge, MA 2001) 401-22, p. 307 et p. 318, nn. 26 et 40, pour *CPR* XIII 1-4 et 11. Thompson s'appuie sur le montant de l'impôt sur le sel.

<sup>71</sup> Agathon est père d'Alexandros (*CPR* XIII 4.156) et de Nikanor (l. 160), le premier marié à une Iooudeitis (l. 157), le second à une Ioannas (l. 161). Je suis les lectures corrigées de W. Clarysse, *loc. cit.*

nombre s'accroît si l'on tient compte de noms grecs qui semblent traduire des noms hébraïques, comme Noumènios (Ḥaggay), Ἀγάθων et Παντάγαθος (Tubyah), et Eirenè (Shalom ou Shelom-sion).<sup>72</sup> D'autres noms sont plus typiquement hellénistiques (Joseph, Mariam). Une différence importante avec les noms d'Edfou, cependant, est la faible représentation des noms théophores en *-yah*: deux Akabias et un Ananias seulement.<sup>73</sup> Le *C.Pap.Jud.* I 24 (*P.Tebt.* III 818), de 174 a.C., atteste encore du port de noms hébraïques par les Juifs de Trikomia à cette date. Hasard des sources? Aucun nom typique de l'époque perse n'y figure (mais après tout, il n'y a aucune raison de penser que le "hasard des sources" joue plus à Samareia et Trikomia qu'en haute Égypte, où les ostraca du II<sup>e</sup> s. présentent encore une très forte proportion de noms "perses").<sup>74</sup>

316 Juifs, répartis sur trois générations, sont connus par les papyrus araméens d'Éléphantine entre 495 et 398 a.C., la génération la plus jeune étant la mieux représentée.<sup>75</sup> R. Degen avait déjà souligné les différences dans les noms portés à Edfou et Éléphantine.<sup>76</sup> Il relevait ainsi cinq noms spécifiques d'Edfou. En fait, cette liste est plus longue: à *'byty* (Abyétî), *'bdyhw* (Abdyahû) et sa forme abrégée *'bdyh* (Abdyah), *'zgd* (Azgad), *Šm'wn* (Šimon), et le féminin *Šlmsyn* (Šelomšion) cités par Degen, il convient d'ajouter *'brm* (Abram), *Ḥšwb* (Ḥaššûb), les trois noms formés sur la racine

<sup>72</sup> Παντάγαθος: *CPR* XIII 4.43, 118; Νουμήνιος: *CPR* XIII 4.188; Ἰρήνη: *CPR* XIII 4.49 et 143. L'argument avancé ici s'inspire de W. Clarysse, *loc.cit.*, p. 199-200, même si la liste de noms et les équivalences proposées ici sont différentes. Voir aussi mon étude "Abraham in Egypt" (ci-dessus, n. 15).

<sup>73</sup> Pour les références, voir la liste de W. Clarysse, p. 194sq.

<sup>74</sup> Étude détaillée de l'onomastique juive de Samareia et Trikomia dans mon étude "Abraham in Egypt" (ci-dessus, n. 15).

<sup>75</sup> Voir la synthèse récente d'E.A. Knauf, "Elephantine und das vor-biblische Judentum," dans R.G. Kratz (ed.), *Religion und Religionskontakte in Zeitalter der Achämeniden*. Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 22 (München 2002) 165-74. Je remercie l'auteur d'avoir mis à ma disposition une copie de son article.

<sup>76</sup> R. Degen, "Zu den aramäische Texten aus Edfu," R. Degen, W.W. Müller, W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, III (Wiesbaden 1978) 59-66, p. 61sq.

*dlh*, *Dlyh* (Delayah), *Dlwy* (Dallûy), et *Ydlh* (Yidlêh)<sup>77</sup> et, peut-être moins spécifique, *ʾlyʿzr* (Eliezer). Malgré cette disparité (et en particulier la présence des noms "jeunes" Simon et Shelomsion), l'onomastique des Juifs d'Edfou présente dans l'ensemble plus d'affinités avec celle des Juifs d'Éléphantine qu'avec celle de Trikomia et de Samareia, en particulier la proportion importante de noms théophores en *-yah/u*. Il est difficile de juger si l'écart d'une ou deux générations qui existerait entre l'immigration de la colonie d'Edfou et celle des Juifs de Trikomia, si on accepte une date basse pour la première, suffit à expliquer les différences entre ces deux colonies.

### *Organisation de la colonie et datation*

Les données onomastiques sont en définitives trop incertaines pour permettre une conclusion ferme sur l'origine de la colonie d'Edfou. Cependant, elles ne sont pas les seules à faire hésiter entre le début de l'époque hellénistique et une date antérieure. S'y ajoutent les indices des documents araméens concernant l'organisation interne de la colonie. Le papyrus *TAD D1.17* (*P.Cowley* 82), une lettre à teneur judiciaire concernant une affaire d'héritage, atteste de ce que les Juifs de la région possédaient leurs propres juges (*dynyʿ*, l. 1) et, à Edfou, étaient liés à une forteresse: en effet, il y est fait référence à "Edfou la forteresse" (*Ṭbh birtʿ*, l. 3).<sup>78</sup> Deux autres documents mentionnent des scribes, *TAD D8.8.2* (*sfryʿ*, "les scribes") et *TAD D8.6.3* (*Ḥnyh sfrʿ*, "Ḥannyah le scribe"). Enfin, le papyrus *TAD C3.28.113* (*P.Cowley* 81) mentionne un prêtre au nom sémitique, probablement juif, *Šlm[ ] hkhn* ("Šelem[yah?] le prêtre").

Tous ces éléments (forteresse, juges, scribes et prêtres) rappellent de manière frappante l'organisation des colonies de mercenaires du Proche-Orient employés par le pouvoir perse en Égypte: Araméens et Juifs de Syène-Éléphantine, ainsi que les colons ethniquement plus hétérogènes de la région de Memphis connus

<sup>77</sup> Sur la racine *dlh* voir ci-dessus, n. 23.

<sup>78</sup> En raison de l'état fragmentaire du papyrus, il n'est pas certain que les juges, qui adressent la lettre à un personnage inconnu, soient établis à Edfou. S'ils le sont, il faut supposer que la forteresse d'Edfou était distinguée de la ville, sinon, il n'y aurait pas grand-sens à mentionner Edfou nominalement dans le document.

par les documents araméens de Saqqarah.<sup>79</sup> S'il est pertinent, un tel rapprochement aurait des implications immédiates sur notre compréhension de la composition sociologique de la colonie d'Edfou. On sait que les établissements de Juifs et d'Araméens de Syène et d'Éléphantine comportaient un noyau militaire, le *ḥaylâ*, flanqué d'une colonie de civils, la *qeriyâ*. Les fragments de papyrus de Saqqarah-Nord publiés par Segal ont livré les mêmes termes (*ḥaylâ*, *degel*, *qeriyâ*) qu'à Éléphantine, laissant penser que l'organisation des Araméens de la région de Saqqarah était semblable à celle de la double colonie de haute Égypte.<sup>80</sup> Segal en déduit, avec les réserves de rigueur, que ce type d'organisation devait en fait être fréquent dans les colonies de ce qu'il appelle des "Sémites" (seulement eux?) installés en Égypte.<sup>81</sup> Incidemment, les données disponibles sur le milieu social et professionnel des Juifs de Thèbes s'accorderaient assez bien avec une origine semblable—malheureusement, on ne peut dépasser le stade de la spéculation, dans la mesure où rien ne prouve que les Juifs de Thèbes étaient organisés comme ceux d'Edfou. Un Iasibis est ainsi officier de cavalerie à Thèbes en 158 a.C. (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 27 [*P.Haun.* I 11]). Un Abiètès est même gouverneur de la Péri-Thèbes au II<sup>e</sup> siècle a.C. (*O.Ashm. Shelton* 42). En outre, un certain nombre de porteurs de noms juifs sont fermiers de l'impôt, d'autres semblent être des fonctionnaires responsables des versements fiscaux. Des individus ayant un lien avec la population juive locale appartiennent donc à l'élite militaire, administrative et économique de la région.

Si l'on accepte le rapprochement entre l'organisation de la colonie d'Edfou et celle des colonies de mercenaires proche-orientaux de Syène-Éléphantine et Saqqarah/Memphis, le plus probable est de penser que les Juifs d'Edfou ont quitté la Judée dans des circonstances semblables à ceux d'Éléphantine: l'époque troublée qui suivit la chute du royaume de Juda au début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. (en trois

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<sup>79</sup> Voir J.B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqarah* (Londres 1983).

<sup>80</sup> Celle-ci est débattue dans le détail: le rapport entre *ḥaylâ* et *degel* fait en particulier problème, et on ne sait si le terme *ḥaylâ* regroupe le *degel* militaire et la *qeriyâ* civile, ou si le *degel* est une subdivision du *ḥaylâ* militaire.

<sup>81</sup> J.B. Segal, n. 79, p. 7sq.

temps, 597, 586 et 582),<sup>82</sup> d'après E.A. Knauf. Les Juifs d'Éléphantine affirment être arrivés sur place avant Cambyse, donc avant 525.<sup>83</sup>

Cependant, cette piste n'est pas la seule possible. D. Thompson avait suggéré, voici quelques années, une comparaison entre les colonies militaires araméophones de l'époque achéménide et les *politeumata* de l'époque hellénistique.<sup>84</sup> La publication récente d'un lot d'archives relatifs à un *politeuma* des Juifs d'Héracléopolis au II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. (*P.Polit.Iud.*) vient renforcer cette intuition.<sup>85</sup> Jusqu'à présent, cependant, aucun *politeuma* n'est attesté avant le règne de Ptolémée VI.<sup>86</sup> La colonie d'Edfou fournit-elle le premier exemple ptolémaïque d'un *politeuma*? Ou bien le chaînon manquant entre les colonies de mercenaires perses et les *politeumata* ptolémaïques—dont il ne serait pas surprenant qu'il nous soit fourni par la haute Égypte?

Une différence importante entre les documents relatifs au *politeuma* d'Héracléopolis et ceux relatifs aux Juifs d'Edfou est, bien sûr, la langue. *A priori*, l'usage de l'araméen rapproche plutôt la situation des Juifs d'Edfou de celle des autres colonies de l'époque perse. Cependant, cet élément pourrait tout de même trouver sa place à l'époque de Ptolémée Sôter. Thompson a montré que, dans les premières décennies de la domination gréco-macédonienne

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<sup>82</sup> Jér. LII 28-30. E.A. Knauf, *loc.cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 75).

<sup>83</sup> *TAD* A4.7 et A4.8, cités par E.A. Knauf, *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> D.J. Thompson, "The Idumaeans of Memphis and the Ptolemaic *Politeumata*," *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di Papirologia* (Naples 1984) 1069-75, p. 1073.

<sup>85</sup> Les papyrus conservés montrent que ce *politeuma* possédait ses propres structures institutionnelles: les archontes avaient une compétence administrative, incluant des pouvoirs d'exécution judiciaire semblables à ceux détenus par les fonctionnaires lagides à même époque. Voir *P.Polit.Iud.*, p. 10-8. Si les juges mentionnés dans *TAD* D1.17 ne sont pas établis à Edfou, les papyrus du *politeuma* d'Héracléopolis fournissent un parallèle frappant: en effet, ils laissent clairement voir que des Juifs habitant ailleurs qu'à Héracléopolis avaient recours à la juridiction des archontes du *politeuma* en appel de règlements d'arbitrage rendus par les *presbytéroï* locaux.

<sup>86</sup> Voir S. Honigman, "Politeumata and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt," *AncSoc* 33 (2003) 61-102.

en Égypte, la pénurie de fonctionnaires capables de manier le grec incita le nouveau pouvoir à faire appel aux prêtres égyptiens, qui tinrent leur service de scribes en démotique pendant quelques décennies, avant de se mettre eux-mêmes au grec.<sup>87</sup> Dans ce contexte de pénurie de scribes formés au grec, on pourrait comprendre qu'un groupe apparemment fortement structuré de Juifs ait entretenu des scribes araméens jusque vers le début du II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.

L'hypothèse d'une origine de la colonie juive d'Edfou remontant à l'époque perse ou antérieure est donc impossible à démontrer de façon certaine. Cependant, on ne peut entièrement l'exclure non plus. Il convient donc, dans l'analyse du dossier d'Edfou, de jouer sur les deux tableaux à la fois—origine remontant à une époque ancienne, ou au début de l'époque hellénistique.

*Facteurs expliquant le maintien d'une identité distincte de la colonie d'Edfou*

Même en admettant une immigration dans les premières décennies de l'époque hellénistique, la continuité onomastique des Juifs d'Edfou semble remarquable, si l'on considère les documents conservés (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 139 du I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C., et documents de la région de Thèbes, si le traitement simultanée des deux corpus est admissible). Il est toutefois difficile de savoir dans quelle mesure elle est exceptionnelle, faute de points de comparaison réels. Il est rare, en effet, que l'on puisse suivre une colonie de population ethniquement homogène installée en Égypte sur plus d'un siècle. Prenons, cependant, quelques cas. Outre les colonies juives de Trikomia et Samareia, vues ci-dessus, un groupe de population cyrénéenne établie dans la toparchie inférieure de l'Oxyrhynchite maintenait des noms doriens à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. On ignore, cependant, leur date d'arrivée en Égypte.<sup>88</sup> En ce qui concerne les Juifs d'Éléphantine, Sil-

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<sup>87</sup> D.J. Thompson, "Literacy in early Ptolemaic Egypt," dans A.H.S. El-Mosalamy (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology, Cairo, 2-9 September 1989* (Le Caire 1992) 77-90. La conversion des scribes égyptiens au grec a été établie par W. Clarysse, "Egyptians scribes writing Greek," *Cd'É* 68 (1993) 186-201.

<sup>88</sup> W. Clarysse, "Ethnic Diversity..." (ci-dessus, n. 2).



verman estime que les noms hébraïques diminuent dans les deux dernières générations de la colonie<sup>89</sup>—sans, cependant, disparaître.

A l'inverse, les archives du *politeuma* des Juifs d'Héracléopolis, qui couvrent la période 144/3-133/2 a.C., n'ont livré que deux noms juifs, Iona et Iakoubos,<sup>90</sup> ce dernier banal pour l'époque. De même, Thompson a mis en évidence le processus d'hellénisation des noms propres portés par les Iduméens installés à Memphis puis à Hermoupolis Magna: à la troisième génération, les noms sémitiques étaient devenus rares.<sup>91</sup>

Un exemple supplémentaire fait écarter l'hypothèse que la différence de comportement entre ces différentes colonies soit liée à la date d'arrivée en Égypte, III<sup>e</sup> ou II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.: les Juifs de Léontopolis, en basse Égypte, arrivés sur place au II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., ont conservé des noms d'origine hébraïque sur plusieurs générations.<sup>92</sup>

Quelles sont les conditions qui ont pu assurer le maintien de traits culturels ou identitaires de la colonie d'Edfou (au minimum, une anthroponymie spécifique) sur une si longue durée? On retiendra quatre facteurs potentiels pour examen: (1) la continuité de l'habitat et de l'écologie sociale au niveau local; (2) la survie de l'araméen comme langue orale; (3) l'arrière-plan socio-professionnel du groupe humain concerné; (4) le facteur religieux.

(1) La stabilité d'habitation a certainement joué un rôle. Dans le cas d'Edfou, elle semble assurée, comme on l'a vu ci-dessus. Incidemment, elle se vérifie aussi pour Léontopolis, avec des caractéristiques de continuité onomastique semblables à celles d'Edfou: le nom Abram est attesté dans un ostrakon démotique mal daté, et à nouveau dans une épigramme funéraire grecque du I<sup>er</sup> s. p.C.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Silverman, HNT, p. 483-5.

<sup>90</sup> Voir *P.Polit.Iud.*, p. 30-2.

<sup>91</sup> D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988) 100.

<sup>92</sup> Les inscriptions attribuées au site sont malheureusement difficiles à dater. Voir W. Horbury et D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt with an index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica* (New York 1992). Il semble désormais certain que les Juifs de Léontopolis formaient un *politeuma*. Voir S. Honigman, *loc. cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 86).

<sup>93</sup> W. Horbury et D. Noy, *ibid.*, n° 39, p. 95-102. Voir mon étude "Abraham in Egypt" (ci-dessus, n. 15).

(2) Un deuxième point est plus obscur: le maintien des pratiques onomastiques implique-t-elle un maintien de la langue? Envisageons tout d'abord la question sur le plan théorique. Tout d'abord, peut-on envisager le maintien d'une onomastique particulariste sur deux siècles alors que la langue à laquelle ce fonds de noms propres correspond originellement est oubliée? *A priori*, la situation des Juifs du Moyen-Âge semble prouver que oui. Cependant, les noms en usage au Moyen-Âge sont clairement inspirés par la Bible, c'est-à-dire par une pratique religieuse centrée sur le Livre. Ce n'est certainement pas cette référence littéraire qui explique l'usage de noms comme Ἀβιήτης/Ἀβιήτος, Ἀσίβις, Δελλοῦς, Ἰάζαρος, Ἰακῆβις, Καμβαθαῖος, Ὠνίας, ou même Ἰσμαῖλος, pour ne citer que des noms dont la localisation thébaine est assurée, ou Κεφθάις pour Edfou. La persistance de ces noms à l'état fossilisé, quand il s'agit de noms propres *a priori* rares et surtout d'un fonds qui semble relativement varié, semble difficile à expliquer sans le support d'une langue vivante. On peut comparer, dans une certaine mesure, avec le corpus des noms propres hébraïques (ou d'origine hébraïque) portés par les Juifs d'Égypte à l'époque romaine: ce dernier s'est sensiblement restreint par rapport à l'époque hellénistique (20 noms en tout pour 76 porteurs dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* II), et y dominent des noms banals: Sambathaios/Sambathion, Iosepos, Iakobos/Iakoubos, représentés par plus de 10 porteurs chacun.<sup>94</sup>

A l'inverse, on peut admettre que le nom Abiètès/Abiètos s'est figé à un moment donné, ce qui pourrait expliquer sa survie jusque dans le lot le plus tardif d'ostraca d'Edfou. L'explication vaut cependant plus difficilement pour Abramos: faut-il croire, dans ce dernier cas, que sa réapparition dans les ostraca tardifs est une pure coïncidence?

Deuxième argument théorique, on peut invoquer des parallèles: en d'autres lieux et en d'autres temps, on trouve des exemples de communautés humaines ayant maintenu une langue propre dans un environnement allogène. Ainsi, une communauté de chrétiens maronites arabophones se maintenait encore dans le village de Kormakiti, dans la partie nord-ouest de Chypre, vers le même temps. On pense que ce dernier groupe serait arrivé à Chypre au

<sup>94</sup> Voir mon étude "Abraham in Egypt" pour le détail.

Moyen Âge, au XI<sup>e</sup> ou XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. On a donc là un cas de survie d'une langue, dans une communauté transplantée, sur quelque huit siècles.<sup>95</sup> En théorie du moins, la survie de l'araméen comme langue orale ne serait pas impossible.

De fait, le flottement dans la transcription de certains noms des documents grecs de haute Égypte, Καμβαταῖος/ Καμβαθαῖος,<sup>96</sup> Σεπταῖς/ Σεφθαῖς, Ἀβιήτης/ Ἀβιήτος, semble suggérer que le grec est une langue secondaire. Cependant, ce sont les documents démotiques qui incitent à croire que l'araméen était bel et bien parlé par les Juifs qui y sont mentionnés:<sup>97</sup> ils attestent en effet la conservation des consonnes gutturales et chuintantes (*ḥ*, *ʿ* et *š*), ce qui exclut que les noms transcrits aient subi une médiation par le grec (même si la désinence hellénisée du nom de *Ḥnyʾs* en *OD IFAO* 120.2 est un peu surprenante).<sup>98</sup> Trois noms sont ainsi concernés dans les ostraca d'Edfou des règnes d'Auguste et de Tibère: *Yšḥg* (Išḥac), *Ḥnyʾs* (Ḥannaios ou Ḥananiaš) et *Jʾšw* (Iešou).<sup>99</sup> Le cas du nom *Šbtj* (Šabbethay) des documents thébains est par contre incertain: dans la mesure où il apparaît fréquemment de façon isolée dans des milieux égyptiens, on se demande s'il n'avait pas fini par passer, sous cette forme figée, dans le fonds onomastique de la population égyptienne locale.<sup>100</sup> Il se rencontre aussi, cependant, en milieu

<sup>95</sup> A. Borg, *Cypriot Arabic* (Stuttgart 1985) 1, et C.D. Kyrris, "Military Colonies in Cyprus in the Byzantine period: Their Character, Purpose and Extent," *Byzantinoslavica* 31/2 (1970) 157-81. Je remercie David Wasserstein pour cette référence.

<sup>96</sup> *C.Pap.Jud.* I 87 et 117, peut-être pour la même personne.

<sup>97</sup> Je remercie Willy Clarysse d'avoir attiré mon attention sur l'importance des documents démotiques sur cet aspect.

<sup>98</sup> *P.Brit.Mus.* IV 10 fait connaître un *Slwmns*, marié à une femme au nom égyptien, Senmonthis. W. Clarysse, qui utilise ce document dans son étude "Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes," dans S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman Period*. P.Lugd.Bat. 27 (Leiden 1995) 1-19, p. 5, Table 3, n° 3, propose le nom juif "Salomon(os)" comme lecture possible, et ajoute: "in [this] case the Jewish name is treated as Greek, as the transcription starts with s, not š." Cette difficulté disparaît si l'on songe à un nom arabe et non juif: à la différence de l'hébreu et de l'araméen, la racine est bien *slm* en arabe.

<sup>99</sup> Pour les références, voir ci-dessus, n. 51.

<sup>100</sup> Voir ci-dessus, n. 32.

juif.<sup>101</sup> Trois autres noms se rencontrent dans des documents de provenance incertaine: *J'sr'* (Yeho'azar),<sup>102</sup> dont le nom rappelle celui de Ἰάζαρος, à Thèbes, et de *Y'zr* à Edfou.<sup>103</sup> *Šm'n* (*Šim'on*),<sup>104</sup> et à nouveau *ššhg* (Išhac).<sup>105</sup>

(3) Passons de l'étude onomastique à strictement parler à une observation socio-culturelle concernant, cette fois, les Juifs de Thèbes. Des quelques cas, dans les documents grecs, où le patronyme accompagne le nom, soit pour un contribuable, soit pour un fermier de l'impôt, toutes les combinaisons possibles apparaissent: deux noms juifs, un nom juif et un égyptien, un juif et un grec—il va de soi que toute combinaison n'incluant aucun nom juif nous échappe. Par ailleurs, dans un certain nombre de cas, les personnes portant des noms juifs sont associées à des personnes portant des noms grecs.<sup>106</sup> Rappelons que des noms grecs se mêlaient aux noms juifs et égyptiens dans les ostraca araméens d'Edfou. Dans la région de Thèbes, c'est la présence des noms grecs qui attire le plus l'attention.

Dans une étude récente sur les "Grecs" de Thèbes, W. Clarysse s'arrête sur les implications culturelles et probablement sociales de la présence de noms grecs dans la région de Thèbes.<sup>107</sup> Même si tous les porteurs de noms grecs ne sont pas grecs sur le plan ethnique, rappelle-t-il, "the fact that a person has a Greek name shows that he or she has at least contacts with, and perhaps access to, the

<sup>101</sup> *BGU* VI 1454; si l'on peut songer à une provenance thébaine pour ce document, au vu de la présence du nom '*btjw*' (Abdaïos, Abdious), l. 3.

<sup>102</sup> *BM* 10517.5 (*DNB*, p. 92), inédit, provenance non spécifiée.

<sup>103</sup> Voir ci-dessus, p. 78 sq.

<sup>104</sup> *BGU* VI 1454. Voir note 101.

<sup>105</sup> *O. Mattha* 233.1 (Ombos ?, an 29 de Ptolémée VI Philométor ou Ptolémée VIII Évergète II).

<sup>106</sup> *C. Pap. Jud.* I 50 (*O. Bodl.* I 49, Thèbes, 165 a.C.). En *C. Pap. Jud.* I 78 (*O. Bodl.* I 163, Thèbes, 155 a.C.), il s'agit probablement de deux frères (cf. *C. Pap. Jud.* I 79 [*O. Bodl.* I 164], Thèbes, 151 a.C.). Un sondage dans l'index III (a) de *O. Bodl.* III ne révèle pas de noms juifs parmi les fermiers de l'impôt signant en démotique, et le *DNB* ne semble pas en ajouter.

<sup>107</sup> W. Clarysse, "Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes" (ci-dessus, n. 98). Voir aussi *O. Elkab*, p. 38sq., sur la répartition des noms grecs dans cette bourgade située à 20 km en aval d'Edfou, et liée administrativement à cette dernière.

Greek world, 'la grécité.'"<sup>108</sup> Il vaut la peine de reproduire également les remarques développées par Clarysse en conclusion de son article (p. 19): "I am convinced that Greek Thebes was a small world and that the Greek-speaking or Greek-named section of the population belonged to the upper layers of society. This elite, perhaps a few thousand, maybe only a few hundred families, was so narrow that name identity, except for the most common names, is often indicative of family relationship or even personal identity" (une remarque certainement valable également pour les noms juifs!). Clarysse continue en remarquant que cette élite grecque s'unit par mariage à l'élite égyptienne locale. Ce milieu ethniquement mixte se comporte de deux manières différentes culturellement: "as Greeks in the administration, the army and the gymnasium, as Egyptians in the temple and within the family."

Fort de ces remarques de Clarysse, on est sans doute autorisé à conclure que la présence de noms grecs parmi ces Juifs de la région thébaine n'est pas banale. On a vu ci-dessus que des individus ayant un lien avec la population juive locale appartiennent à l'élite militaire, administrative et économique de la région. On devine donc des liens entre l'élite juive et l'élite grecque locales. Doit-on en conclure, à l'inverse de ce qui a été envisagé plus haut, que les Juifs sont arrivés à Thèbes en même temps que les Grecs et étaient mêlés à eux? Dans ce cas, le maintien de l'araméen comme langue orale, si j'ai raison de la supposer, serait particulièrement remarquable. Somme toute, il semble que ce soit l'hypothèse d'une situation héritée de l'époque pré-hellénistique qui permette de résoudre au mieux le maintien de noms hébraïques désuets pour le II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. et l'intégration de Juifs dans l'élite locale.<sup>109</sup> Si donc l'on pouvait

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3, avec référence à J. Bingen, "L'Égypte gréco-romaine et la problématique des interactions culturelles," dans R.S. Bagnall, G.M. Browne, A.E. Hanson, L. Koenen (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York, 24-31 July 1980* (Chico 1981) 3-18, pour le concept de "grécité."

<sup>109</sup> Dans une étude récente, J.G. Manning a souligné la continuité du régime de propriété foncière qui caractérise la haute Égypte à l'époque hellénistique par rapport à l'époque précédente. Voir J.G. Manning, "The Land-Tenure in Ptolemaic Upper Egypt," dans A.K. Bowman, E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Londres 1999) 83-105. Si une zone de

prouver que les Juifs d'Edfou et ceux de Thèbes ont des origines et une histoire semblables, il serait tentant de suggérer que le maintien de l'organisation originelle de ces colonies a joué un rôle dans le maintien de l'onomastique (et de la langue). Malheureusement, on vire ici de l'hypothèse à la spéculation—donc, renonçons au facteur socio-professionnel.

### *Un temple juif à Edfou?*

(4) Il reste à aborder un dernier point: le facteur religieux. Il serait absurde de nier qu'un groupe humain structuré, juif ou autre, se soit maintenu sans que cela n'implique une structuration autour d'un culte commun. Reste cependant à se demander quel type de structuration religieuse, quel type de forme culturelle, caractérisait ces Juifs de haute Égypte, d'Edfou et de Thèbes. Il semble hâtif de s'en tenir à la réponse classique, la synagogue.

Le papyrus TAD C3.28 (P.Cowley 81), ainsi qu'un ou deux ostraca grecs de haute Égypte (C.Pap.Jud. I 120 et 121), et un autre d'Edfou du I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. (C.Pap.Jud. I 139), mentionnent des prêtres juifs.<sup>110</sup> J. Schwartz a émis l'hypothèse que ces prêtres jouaient un rôle dans les *proseuchai* de la région.<sup>111</sup> On sera d'accord avec lui sur un point: la mention du titre de prêtre, dans le contexte d'un

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bouleversements sociaux et de mise en valeur agricole comme le Fayoum pouvait être propice à la mobilité sociale, il est abusif de généraliser à l'ensemble du pays.

<sup>110</sup> TAD C3.28.85 [P.Cowley 81.8 dans l'*editio princeps*]: "Yoḥanan le prêtre" et TAD C3.28.113 (P.Cowley 81.39): "Šlm (Šillem, ou Šelem(yah)) le prêtre"; voir aussi TAD C3.28.114, un nom suivi de la mention "le prêtre" effacé. Il peut s'agir de Šlm. C.Pap.Jud. I 120.1 [O.Bodl. I 299] II<sup>e</sup> ou I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C., haute Égypte): Ἰσμαήλου ἱερέως. L'ostrakon ne contenant que ces deux mots, le contexte est obscur. Pour une possible provenance thébaine des ostraca de la Bodleian, voir Schwartz, p. 63. C.Pap.Jud. I 139.5 et 9 (O.Edfou III 368, Edfou, I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C.): Ἰώσηπος ἱερεύς, apparaît comme convive contributeur aux "troisième" et "quatrième banquet" (πόσις), en compagnie d'un Θεῦξιου[...], d'un Lysimachos, et d'un Septhais pour le premier, d'un Thèmas et d'un Teuphilos pour le second. Un cas incertain: C.Pap.Jud. I 121.1-2 [O.Ashm. 12, haute Égypte, II<sup>e</sup> ou I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C.]: Θεοδ[...], Ἀλε[...], ἱερεῖ. Le patronyme est illisible (cf. aussi O.Tait III, index IIIa). On hésite cependant sur l'appartenance ethnique de ce prêtre au nom grec, qui apparaît ici comme contribuable. C'est le signataire du reçu qui porte un nom juif, Dellaiaias

<sup>111</sup> Schwartz, p. 63.

aide-mémoire commercial (*TAD* C3.28) ou de quittances d'impôts, nous assure de ce que la qualité de prêtre de ces individus était notoire. On doute qu'il s'agisse seulement, surtout hors d'Alexandrie et même très loin de cette ville, de préserver la mémoire des lignées sacerdotales en relation avec le temple de Jérusalem.<sup>112</sup> Ces prêtres avaient donc certainement un rôle cultuel actif. Par contre, est-ce vraiment à des *proseuchai* qu'il faut les associer? Et si c'est le cas, comment doit-on comprendre la réalité que recouvre ce terme?

Reprenons le dossier. Que des prêtres apparaissent dans *TAD* C3.28 nous fait remonter au III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Associer ces prêtres à des *proseuchai*, à cette date et en ce lieu, pose certainement plus de problèmes que cela n'en résout, sauf, répétons-le, à vouloir considérablement modifier notre conception de cette institution, généralement assimilée à la synagogue.

La deuxième pétition de principe, exprimée explicitement dans le *C.Pap.Jud.*, mais implicite aussi dans les remarques de J. Schwartz, est qu'un prêtre juif ne pratique pas de sacrifices hors de Jérusalem. C'est là prendre au pied de la lettre des textes bibliques, qui reflètent la situation idéale désirable du point de vue de l'élite religieuse de Jérusalem, mais pas forcément la réalité vécue. Dans une étude déjà un peu ancienne, M. Smith a rassemblé tout un faisceau de sources tendant à prouver que la centralisation du culte sacrificiel à Jérusalem ne fut jamais totalement respectée dans les

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<sup>112</sup> On sait qu'Hérode fit appel à des lignées sacerdotales juives de Babylonie et d'Alexandrie pour évincer la lignée hasmonéenne de la grande prêtrise du temple de Jérusalem (Flavius Josèphe, *Antiquités Juives*, XV 320-2). Voir M. Stern, "The Reigns of Herod and the Herodian Dynasty," dans S. Safrai, M. Stern (eds.), *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*, I/1 (Assen 1974) 216-307, p. 274. Flavius Josèphe indique que des registres des lignées sacerdotales étaient tenus par la communauté juive d'Alexandrie (*Contre Apion*, I 30-3). Cette pratique n'a pu se développer qu'à partir de l'époque où les questions de pureté sacerdotale ont impliqué des règles strictes de mariage avec des femmes appartenant à des familles sacerdotales. On devine des polémiques autour de ce sujet dans les sources d'époque perse et du début de l'époque hellénistique en Judée. Qu'une telle pratique ait été reflétée à Alexandrie à partir d'un certain moment se comprend assez. On peut légitimement douter, cependant, de ce que la situation d'Alexandrie soit transposable en haute Égypte, dans des cercles de population juive arrivés là à une époque plus ancienne, et qui sont restés coupés assez longtemps du reste du monde juif de basse et moyenne Égypte, – si les arguments exposés dans cet article se tiennent.

faits.<sup>113</sup> Quel rôle cultuel doit-on envisager, dans ces conditions, pour ces prêtres de *TAD* C3.28 et peut-être encore ceux des documents grecs du II<sup>e</sup>/I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C.? Le plus logique est de songer à un rôle sacrificiel. Le précédent d'Éléphantine vient à l'esprit—indépendamment de la date d'arrivée des Juifs d'Edfou en Égypte.

On sait que le temple de Yahô des Juifs d'Éléphantine fut détruit, l'an 14 de Darius II (410 a.C.), par le commandant de la garnison de Syène, Nafaina, des militaires et des Égyptiens, menés par les administrateurs du sanctuaire voisin de Khnoum, sur ordre du gouverneur de Syène, Widranga. La cause de l'agression semble avoir été un contentieux de voisinage, plutôt qu'un conflit de nature religieuse.<sup>114</sup> L'affaire est connue par la plainte qu'envoyèrent immédiatement après les événements les Judéens d'Éléphantine à la capitale, Memphis (*TAD* A4.7 et 8), dénonçant le gouverneur de Syène et demandant la reconstruction du sanctuaire à son emplacement (voir aussi *TAD* A4.5). Ce n'est qu'après de multiples démarches auprès des autorités locales ainsi que des gouverneurs de Judée et de Samarie que les Juifs d'Éléphantine obtinrent gain de cause, et encore partiellement. Suite à une ultime intervention des notables judéens et samaritains, le satrape d'Égypte, Aršama, donna l'autorisation de reconstruire le sanctuaire au même emplacement, de reprendre "l'oblation et l'encensement" (*TAD* A4.9), mais pas les "holocaustes de bœufs, bœufs et boucs."<sup>115</sup>

L'interdiction de reprendre les sacrifices reflète certainement le souci des autorités de Jérusalem de faire respecter la centralisation

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<sup>113</sup> M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (Londres 1971) 82-98. Je remercie David Suter d'avoir discuté ce point avec moi et d'avoir attiré mon attention sur cette référence. David Suter a étudié récemment la reprise d'activité du temple juif de Dan, en Galilée, à l'époque hellénistique. Voir son "Why Galilee? Galilean Regionalism in the Interpretation of 1 *Enoch* 6-16," *Henoch* 25 (2003) 167-211.

<sup>114</sup> Je suis ici l'interprétation de P. Briant, qui est à préférer à l'interprétation traditionnelle qui imaginait un différend religieux, les Juifs sacrifiant à la Pâque un agneau sous le nez des prêtres de Khnoum, dont l'animal sacré était un bélier. Voir P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse, de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris 1996) 603 et 620-3.

<sup>115</sup> Les traces archéologiques du temple de Yahô, désormais identifié, confirment la reconstruction. Voir C. von Pilgrim, "Der Tempel des Jahwe," *MDAIK* 55 (1999) 142-55. Je remercie E.A. Knauf pour cette référence.



du culte sacrificiel au Temple de Jérusalem, et offre une preuve de l'appui des autorités centrales perses aux décisions de Jérusalem en matière religieuse.<sup>116</sup> Que les autorités politiques et religieuses de Jérusalem aient eu à cœur de faire respecter la centralisation du culte sacrificiel, rien là de très surprenant. On devine, toutefois, dans quel état d'esprit les Juifs d'Éléphantine se résignèrent à cette restriction,... s'ils s'y résignèrent vraiment. La présence de prêtres dans *TAD* C3.28 ne suggère-t-elle pas que les simples fidèles pouvaient se montrer plus indisciplinés que ne le laissent croire les textes bibliques rédigés dans les milieux sacerdotaux de Jérusalem et, partant, susceptibles d'avoir idéalisé la réalité? Si on le lit sans a priori, *TAD* C3.28 suggère que les Juifs d'Edfou organisaient encore au III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. leurs pratiques cultuelles selon les formes traditionnelles, c'est-à-dire sacrificielles, conférant un rôle privilégié à des prêtres. L'unique solution de rechange est de supposer que les formes cultuelles alternatives au sacrifice, dont le développement conduira finalement à la pratique synagogale, étaient suffisamment stabilisées et ancrées dans la population de Judée dès le IV<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. pour qu'un groupe de Juifs émigrés à l'étranger se soit senti tenu de s'y conformer. Et cela, alors que Smith et Suter, répétons-le, apportent des preuves du contraire en Judée même. En outre, le cas du temple de Léontopolis édifié par Onias IV, un membre d'une lignée sacerdotale hiérosolymitaine de premier plan en dissidence, prouve qu'une entorse au principe de l'exclusivité du temple de Jérusalem en matière de sacrifices n'était pas considérée comme un péché mortel par les contemporains eux-mêmes.<sup>117</sup>

Dans de telles conditions, est-ce une *proseuchè*/synagogue que l'on doit s'attendre à voir surgir de futurs documents de haute Égypte, ou bien un *hiéron*, sanctuaire semblable à l'*égora* d'Éléphantine, ou plus modeste? Si c'est une *proseuchè*, il faudra au moins soulever la question de savoir si cette institution possédait déjà, au début du III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., les traits que Philon lui attribue pour

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<sup>116</sup> Celle-ci fait suite à leur appui à l'introduction à Éléphantine d'une réforme pascal (*TAD* A4.1).

<sup>117</sup> Sur Léontopolis, voir la mise au point dans E. Schürer, édition mise à jour, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C. – A.D. 135) (Edinburgh 1987) III/1, p. 47sq. En outre, E.S. Gruen, "The Origins and Objectives of Onias' Temple," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 16 (1997) 47-70.

son temps.<sup>118</sup> Peut-être les *proseuchai* de l'époque de Philon dérivaien-t-elles, dans leur contenu sinon dans leur nom, de centres cultuels dont le fonctionnement était plus proche de celui d'un sanctuaire à culte sacrificiel que d'une véritable synagogue, au sens où nous l'entendons.

Jusqu'à présent, en tout cas, aucune *proseuchè* n'est attestée à Thèbes ou en haute Égypte pour l'époque hellénistique: la *προσευχὴ Θηβαίων* d'Arsinoé du Fayoum, de *C.Pap.Jud.* II 432 col. III.57, n'a rien à voir avec Thèbes, d'après W. Habermann, qui a republié le papyrus récemment.<sup>119</sup>

Le cas des prêtres juifs des documents grecs de haute Égypte des II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. est plus incertain. On ne peut totalement exclure des contacts entre les Juifs de cette région et des Juifs de moyenne Égypte. Malgré ces réserves, la tentation est grande de voir une continuité entre "Ismaèlos le prêtre" de l'*O.Bodl.* I 299 (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 120) du II<sup>e</sup> ou I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C., et ces prêtres du *TAD* C3.28. Les fonctions cultuelles de ces prêtres a pu évoluer avec le temps, mais on imagine volontiers qu'elles soient dérivées, à l'origine, des fonctions exercées par les prêtres des colonies originelles.

La situation change complètement avec la documentation de l'époque romaine. Le *P.Stras.* IV 300 (*C.Pap.Jud.* III 452a), du II<sup>e</sup> s. p.C., nous fait connaître une *pannychis skenopegias*, célébrée dans un domaine agricole de la région d'Edfou. Parmi les personnes travaillant dans ce domaine, on relève des noms juifs, grecs, égyptiens, et araméens non juifs (*Βαρυίων*; *P.Stras.* IV 300 fr. 2v). Si J. Schwartz a raison d'identifier cette fête à une cérémonie remontant à l'époque hasmonéenne et qui disparut à Jérusalem avec la destruction du temple,<sup>120</sup> il faudrait y voir non pas tant une fête

<sup>118</sup> H.A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue. The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism* (Leyde 1994); L.H. Schiffman, "The Early History of Public Reading of the Torah," dans S. Fine (ed.), *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue* (Londres 1999) 44-56.

<sup>119</sup> *P.Lond.* III 1177 [*C.Pap.Jud.* II 432] col. III.57, réédité par W. Habermann, *Zur Wasserversorgung einer Metropole im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten. Neu-edition von P.Lond. III 1177* (Munich 2000) 10-1. C'est sans grande conviction que les auteurs du *C.Pap.Jud.* suggéraient la restitution [προσευχὴ] à une inscription d'Edfou. Voir *C.Pap.Jud.* II, p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>120</sup> Schwartz, p. 69.

traditionnelle de la vieille communauté locale, que la preuve d'une revitalisation de la communauté juive d'Edfou par une nouvelle vague de population juive, arrivée directement de Judée, peut-être suite à la grande révolte de Judée et Galilée de 66-70.

### III. Conclusion

En raison de la nature laconique et lacunaire de la documentation disponible, il est bien difficile de dépasser le stade des hypothèses sur la plupart des points qui ont été soulevés dans cet article. On hésite à parler d'une continuité de peuplement juif à Edfou de la fin de l'époque perse au début du II<sup>e</sup> s. p.C., qui de surcroît s'identifierait encore assez avec ses origines judéennes pour s'être fait déclarer passible de l'impôt juif par les autorités romaines. On imaginerait volontiers l'arrivée à Edfou d'une nouvelle vague d'immigration juive, impossible cependant à situer dans le temps. Cependant, on retrouve encore le nom 'Αβιῆτος parmi les habitants d'Edfou soumis à l'impôt juif, et l'on repère quelques noms "perses" à basse époque hellénistique (Sephthais) peut-être et dans la première moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. p.C. (Zakkûr) dans les documents locaux.

On est en terrain plus sûr pour la deuxième conclusion à tirer de ce dossier de haute Égypte: les éditeurs du *C.Pap.Jud.*, et Tcherikover en premier lieu, avaient tendance à considérer le monde des Juifs d'Égypte comme un monde unifié et homogène. Le *C.Pap.Jud.* parle volontiers de "la" communauté juive d'Égypte. Cependant, l'Égypte elle-même n'est pas un monde homogène. De toutes les disparités régionales, l'originalité du Sud est la plus notoire. Inutile de rappeler les sécessions et les tentatives de sécessions de la Thébaidé qui jalonnent l'histoire de l'époque ptolémaïque. En outre, des études récentes portant sur des domaines variés tendent à souligner la continuité entre l'époque pré-ptolémaïque (perse et saïte) et ptolémaïque; il semblerait, ce qui n'est pas une surprise, que celle-ci soit particulièrement marquée dans le sud du pays, là où la présence de la dynastie alexandrine était plus ténue.<sup>121</sup> A bien réfléchir, on n'est pas surpris que les

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<sup>121</sup> Voir les remarques de J.G. Manning, *loc. cit.* (ci-dessus, n. 109), à propos du régime de la propriété foncière en haute Égypte, notamment p. 86. Sur la question de la continuité entre les époques perse et saïte et l'époque ptolémaïque,

Juifs de haute Égypte, eux aussi, aient été relativement coupés de ce qui se passait en basse et moyenne Égypte, et aient préservé leur particularisme.<sup>122</sup>

## Appendice

### *I. Liste des noms propres sémitiques des documents araméens d'Edfou*

Lectures d'après Porten et Yardeni, *TAD*. On a essayé de suivre ici la terminologie définie par M.H. Silverman dans ses deux articles, *ANT* (p. 691-3) et *HNT* (p. 465-8), ou, à défaut, les choix de Porten et Yardeni, *TAD*. D'après Silverman:

– sont considérés comme "hébraïques" les noms qui sont formés d'éléments venant de l'hébreu sur le plan linguistique notamment dans les cas où l'élément verbal est spécifique à l'hébreu par rapport à l'araméen, au niveau phonologique, morphologique ou lexicographique. Ils sont signalés par la mention "n. hébr."

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voir en outre les remarques d'A.E. Samuel, *The Shifting Sands of History. Interpretations of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Londres 1989) 53, qui élaborent autour de l'intuition initiale de M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* I, p. 263, 272-3 et *passim*.

<sup>122</sup> Une partie des données utilisées dans cet article remontent à mon mémoire de doctorat. Je tiens à remercier mon directeur de thèse, Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, pour son aide apportée au cours de ce travail. Des recherches complémentaires ont été rendues possibles grâce à un séjour de trois semaines au Institut für Papyrologie de l'Université de Heidelberg, et à un séjour de cinq mois à Yarnton, Oxford, comme Skirball Fellow du Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Je tiens à remercier Dieter Hagedorn pour son accueil à Heidelberg et surtout le OCHJS pour les excellentes conditions de séjour et de travail qui m'ont été offertes durant mon séjour à Oxford. Pour l'onomastique arabe, mon travail a été considérablement facilité par Maurice Sartre, qui a aimablement mis à ma disposition les données du corpus des noms des inscriptions de Jordanie, qu'il est chargé de constituer. David Wasserstein et E.A. Knauf m'ont apporté une aide précieuse sur des aspects ponctuels, signalés ci-dessus. C'est un agréable devoir de les remercier ici. Une version antérieure de cet article a été lue par Willy Clarysse, dont les commentaires érudits et détaillés ont contribué à de sensibles améliorations. Enfin, j'ai présenté le dossier d'Edfou et de Thèbes dans une conférence au Centre for Advanced Studies de l'Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem, sur invitation de Hannah Cotton, Jonathan Price et David Wasserstein. Je remercie les organisateurs et les participants de cette conférence pour leurs remarques.

– sont appelés "juifs" les noms araméens incluant un élément théophore spécifiquement juif, notamment yahwistique. La définition est ici ethnique, et non linguistique. Signalés "n. juif."

ou bien les noms qui, tout en n'étant ni hébraïques ni araméens sur le plan linguistique (et en étant dépourvus d'un élément théophore spécifique), sont couramment portés par des Juifs, au point qu'ils semblent ne plus avoir été ressentis comme étrangers. Ils sont identifiables à la présence d'un ethnique, ou au contexte onomastique (association à un patronyme juif, etc). Dans ce corpus, seul Abyéti répond clairement à cette définition.

#### (1) *Noms hébraïques et juifs*

Sont marqués d'un \* les noms attestés en transcription grecque ou démotique dans les documents de haute Égypte, en particulier de Thèbes et d'Edfou.

f. = fils; p. = père.

– *'bhy* (Abihî): C3.28.79.

– \* *'byty* (Abyéti), n. aram., juif: D7.57.2 (2 fois, peut-être un père et son fils; le premier est p. de Leptinâ); D8.4.25 (p. de Nathan); D8.9.13 (p. de Dallûy); D8.10.1; C3.28.29, 30, 53 (f. de Nethinâ: rapport familial avec l'homonyme de D7.57?), 116 (p. de Yidléh); D9.15.1. Voir le grec Ἀβιήτης / Ἀβιήτορ.

– \* *'brm* (Abram), n. hébr. (ou aram.?): D8.4.23. Ἀβραμ.

– *'wry* (Ûrî): D21.10.

– ? *'hyw* (Ahyô/û), n. hébr./juif? ou bien nabatéen: D8.6.6 ([*'hyw*, f. de Seraam).

– *'ly<sup>c</sup>zr* (Eliezer): D8.7.4.

– *Bydyh* (Beyadyah): D8.6.4.

– *Brwkh* (Berûkah), n. fém.: D8.7.5 (f. de Pasi, n. ég.).

– \**Dlyh* (Delayah): D8.7.1 (f. de *Ytkwm*); D1.17.2 (f. de Ḥaggay, juge). Voir le grec Δελλαίας.

– \**Dlwy* (Dallûy): D8.4.7 (p. de Šimon); D8.5.2 (f. de Yidléh); D8.5.4 (f. de Ḥaggay); D8.5.6 (patr., probablement f. de l'un des deux précédents); D8.7.3 (p. de Yehûdit); D8.9.13 (f. d'Abyéti);

D1.17.2 ([D]lwy; patr., juge), C3.28.102 (p. de Yoḥanan); C3.28.115 (Dallûy le jeune). Comparer le grec Δελλοῦς.

– Gʼbr/dy (Gabry?): C3.28.81 (p. de Šabbethit).

– Zbdyh (Zebadyah), n. juif:<sup>123</sup> D21.7.4 (f. dʼAzgad); D21.13 (Zb[dyh], identification avec le précédent impossible, il sʼagit de deux stèles funéraires); C3.28.80.

– \*Zkwr (Zakkûr), n. plutôt hébr. (Silverman, HNT, p. 476): C3.28.98, 99 (p. dʼAbdyah). Cf. Sqwr, O.D. 120.

– Hgy (Ḥaggay), n. hébr. et aram., juif: D8.5.4 (p. de Dallûy); D8.9.15; D1.17.2 (p. de Delayah, juge); C3.28.87 (f. de Diophoros/Dipyros); 91 (p. de Šimon); C3.28.100, 101 (p. de Šabbethay, f. de Tutu).

– Hnyh (Ḥannyah): D8.6.3 (scribe); C3.28.88 (p. de Tasa, f. de Cese).

– Hšwb (Ḥaššûb): D8.6.11. A rapprocher, Ὡσιβίς.

– \*Yʼyr (Yair): D21.16, lecture douteuse, stèle funéraire de Hagir Esna, en aval dʼEdfou ("fin III<sup>e</sup> ou déb. II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.," TAD). Cf. Ἰαείρης, C.Pap.Jud. I 109.

– Ydwʿ (Yaddûa): D8.4.14 (patr.).

– Ydlh (Yidlêh), n.: D8.5.2 (p. de Dallûy); D8.3.6 (p. de Šabbethay); D8.6.9 (f. de Šimon); C3.28.116 (f. dʼAbyétî).

– Yhwdh (Yehûdah): C3.28.18, 35, 70, 72.

– Yhdt (Yehudit), n. fém.: D8.7.3 (fille de Dallûy); D8.8.4 et 9.

– Ywḥnn (Yôḥanan) : C3.28.82 (p. dʼArsinoé); C3.28.85 (f. de Yoezer); C3.28.85 (prêtre); C3.28.102 (f. de Dallûy).

– Ywntn (Yônathan): C3.28.90, 104, 105.

– Yḥnn (Y(o)ḥanan): D8.4.12.

– \*?Yʼzr (Y(o)ezer?): C3.28.85 (p. de Y(o)ḥanan), rayé. Comparer Ἰαζαρος, C.Pap.Jud. I 107 et, Jʼsrʿ, BM 10517.5 (DNB, p. 92).

– \*Yšyb (Yašîb): D7.55.3 (patr.); D7.56.1 (f. de Šabbethay); D8.9.2 ([Yš]yb) et 3 ([Y]šyb); C3.28.47; C3.28.86 (p. de Šabbethay).

<sup>123</sup> A Éléphantine, nom juif. Voir Silverman, ANT, p. 696 et 699.

– *Ytqwm* (vocalisation et interprétation incertaines): D8.7.2 (p. de Delayah); D8.10.4. Étant donné la rareté du nom, probablement le même individu dans les deux cas.

– *[K]yh* (Kayah): D8.6.8 ("témoin").

– *Mkyh* (Mikayah): D8.8.6.

– *Mlkyh* (Malkyah): D7.57.5 (f. d'Azgad, époux de Tam).

– *Mšlm* (Mešullam): D8.9.12 (p. de Šabbethay); D21.7.5 (f. d'Azgad); C3.28.107 (f. d'Azgad, cf. D21.7).

– *Ntn* (Nathan): D8.4.25 (f. d'Abyétî); D8.6.1 (f. d'Abdyahû); D8.9.14 (enfant trouvé); C3.28.10 (f. de Nabd(a)y); C3.28.54; C3.28.107 (= Yonathan?)

– *Ntny* (Nathnay/Nathnî), schème hypoc. aram. ou hébr.: D21.9.1 (f. de Šimon); C3.28.86.

– *Ntyn*<sup>124</sup> (Nethinâ), schème hypoc. aram. ou hébr.: C3.28.29 et 30.

– \**'bdyhw* (Abdyahû),<sup>124</sup> n. juif: D8.5.5 (médecin); D8.6.1 (p. de Nathan); D21.8.1 (f. de Šimon); C3.28.98 et 99 (f. de Zakkûr); C3.28.117 (f. de Pachis?). Comparer le grec Ἀβδίους.

– *'bdyh* (Abdyah), n. juif: D1.17.2 (p. de Šob'am).

– *'zgd* (Azgad): D7.57.5 (p. de Malkyah); D21.7.1-5 (f. de Marî/Makkî, ll. 1 et 3, et ses trois enfants, Šelomšion, Zebadyah, et Mešullam); C3.28.107 (p. de Mešullam, cpr. D21.7.5).

– *Plṭh* (Pilṭah): nom fém., hébr. ou arm., peut-être juif:<sup>125</sup> D1.17.10.

– *Rḥb'l* (Reḥabel): C3.28.37.

– \**Š'wl* (Šaûl): D8.9.6. Comparer peut-être avec le Κοῦλις d'un ostrakon grec de haute Égypte, époque ptolémaïque, *C.Pap.Jud.* I 99, patronyme associé à un nom égyptien.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Pour ce nom et le suivant, je suis la vocalisation proposée par Grelot, p. 465, plutôt que la vocalisation massorétique Obadyahu et Obadyah.

<sup>125</sup> Ce nom doit correspondre à la graphie *Plṭh* attestée à Éléphantine. Il s'agit de la forme féminine du nom *Plṭy*, bien attesté, qui signifie "(la divinité) a délivré" (Kornfeld, p. 68). A Éléphantine, le nom est porté par des Juifs et des Araméens. Le composé théophore juif *Plṭyh* est attesté (Kornfeld, p. 69; *TAD* index, vols. II, p. lii; II, p. lxiv; IV, p. lxxi).

- Šb‘m (Šobam/Šubaam): D1.17.2 (f. d'Abdyah, juge).
- \*Šbty (Šabbethay), n. hébr. ou juif sur schème aram.: D7.56.2 (p. de Yašib); D8.3.6 (f. de Yidléh, f. de Dallûy de D8.4?); D8.5.3 (p. de Šallûm); D8.9.11 (f. de Hôri); D8.9.12 (f. de Mešullam); D11.26.2 (?); C3.28.73; C3.28.86 (f. de Yašib); C3.28.100, 101 (f. de Ḥaggay).
- \*Šbtyt (Šabetît), fém. du précédent: D8.4.19 (fille de Tawê); C3.28.81 (f. de Gabrî/Abrî).
- ŠHyb (Š/Hib): D8.6.7.
- \*Šlwm (Šallûm): D8.5.3 (f. de Šabbethay).
- \*Šlm (Šillem): D8.4.20.
- \*Šlm[ ]: C3.28.113 ("Šlm[ ] le prêtre").
- Šlmsyn (Šelomšion, n. fém.): D8.9.8; D21.7.2 (f. d'Azgad); C3.28.80.
- Šm‘l (Šemaël), n. hébr. ou aram.: D8.4.22.
- \*Šm‘wn (Šimon): D8.4.7 ([Šim‘]on, f. de Dallûy); D8.6.2 (patr. d'un nom qui semble égyptien); D8.6.9 (p. de Yidléh): un homme et ses deux fils; D8.8.8 (corr.); D8.11.9; D21.8.2 (p. d'Abdyahû); D21.9.2 (p. de Netanay/Netanî, voir D21.8); C3.28.91, 93, 95, 96 (f. de Ḥaggay). Voir le grec Cίμων.

## (2) Noms sémitiques non hébraïques

Sont marqués d'un • les noms associés à des noms juifs dans leur filiation.

Noms lus sur l'ostracon D8.6:

– ? ‘hyw (Aḥyô/û), n. nabatéen ou hébr.: D8.6.6 ([‘]hyw, f. de Seraam). Les éditeurs de TAD identifient le nom comme hébraïque, mais la finale en *o/u* pourrait indiquer un nom nabatéen.

– Ḥbwb (Ḥabbûb) (?), aram.: D8.6.5. Lecture TAD. Ou bien Ḥtb (?), nom ouest-sémitique, signifiant probablement "le frère est bon" (lecture de Segal). Silverman, ANT, p. 699, classe ce nom (dans les graphies ‘ḥtb et ‘ḥytb) dans la catégorie "Aramaic names whose divine elements are Jewish, especially Jahwistic."

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<sup>126</sup> Voir *C.Pap.Jud.* I, p. 202, et ci-dessus, n. 28 (*in fine*).



– Šr‘m (Šeraam), n. aram.: D8.6.6. "‘m est montagne" (Segal, Maarav, p. 72-4). Patr., associé à un nom peut-être juif, ou bien nabatéen, Ahyô).

– Šhr’, n. aram.: D8.6.8. "Vigilant," comme nom propre (lecture de Segal, renvoyant à Kornfeld, 72). Ou bien šhd’, "témoin" (TAD). En faveur de cette lecture, peut-être, le titre de "scribe" porté par un Hannyah, l.3 du même document.

Autres:

– ‘b’ (Abâ), n. aram.: D8.11.6.

– •Mky/mry (Makkî/Marî), n. aram.: D21.7.1 et 3 (p. d’Azgad).

– Nbs (Nabis): C3.28.14.

– •Ndby (Nadbay/Nadbî), schème araméen: C3.28.10 (p. de Nathan).

– Nwkd/rw (Nûkrû/Nûdrû), "sémitique" (TAD): D8.10.3.

– •‘bdy (Abdî): C3.28.38; ?D21.16.2 (f. de Yaïr; lecture douteuse).

– ‘bdy (Abdî), ‘dry (Idrî), ou Zbdy (Zabdî), n. hypoc. aram.: D8.4.9.

– ‘qbn (Aqban): nom hypoc. aram.<sup>127</sup>: D7.56.3.

## II. Liste des noms propres hébraïques et juifs des documents grecs de haute Égypte

### (1) Thèbes<sup>128</sup>

’Αβδαῖος p. de Pollous: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 80.4 (*O.Camb.* 10). Thèbes, 157 a.C. Contribuable (blé).

’Αβδίας p. de Josepos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 75.3 (*O.Wilck.* 721) Thèbes 160/59 a.C. Fermier d’impôt (blé).

<sup>127</sup> Kornfeld, p. 67. La racine verbale entre également en composition dans des noms théophores non juifs: ‘qbnbw et nbw‘qb (Kornfeld, pp. 67 et 61; Silverman, ANT, p. 699). Cantineau, p. 134, signale la forme nabatéenne ‘qbw. Elle est ici accompagnée du suffixe hypocoristique –an.

<sup>128</sup> Je suis J. Schwartz pour la localisation des ostraca de la Bodleian Library à Thèbes. Voir ci-dessus, n. 39.

Ἀβδίους f. de Karouris: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 65.6 (*O.Wilck.* 1516 + *BL* II, p. 116). Thèbes, 151 a.C. Fonctionnaire de la banque royale.

Ἀβδίους p. de Simon: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 73.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 153). Thèbes, 162 a.C. Contribuable (blé).

Voir aussi *btjw*, *BGU* VI 1454, Thèbes, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. (*DNB*, p. 96, où le document est cité *O.Berl.P.* 8690): peut-être à identifier avec l'un des deux précédents.

Ἀβήτης: *SB* VI 9623.1. Perithebas, 94 ou 61 a.C. Fermier de l'impôt sur la bière.

Ἀβιῆλος: lire Ἀβιῆτος? *C.Pap.Jud.* I 66.5 (*O.Wilck.* 334 + *BL* II, p. 55). Thèbes, 155 ou 144 a.C. Fermier de l'impôt sur les cordonniers. Voir Abietos dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 48 ou 101?

Ἀβιῆτος p. de Indos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 74.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 156. Lecture confirmée par M. Wittek, *O.Bodl.* III, p. 24). Thèbes (Schwartz), 160 a.C. Paysan. Voir Abietos dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 87 ou 117?

Ἀβιήτης: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 105.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 118). Thèbes (Schwartz), 155 ou 144 a.C. Fermier d'impôt plutôt que fonctionnaire de banque. Voir Abietos dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 48?

Ἀβιήτης: *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 42.1. Perithebas, II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Gouverneur du nome péri-thébain.

Ἀβιῆτος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.2 (*O.Bodl.* I 252). Thèbes (Schwartz), II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Paysan? Voir Abietos dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 87 et 117.

Ἀβιῆτος p. de Iesous: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 252). Probablement le même que le précédent. Voir Abietos dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 87 et 117.

Ἀβιῆτος f. de Imous: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 48.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 46). Thèbes, 171/0 a.C. Fermier de l'impôt sur le vin. Voir Abielos? Voir Abietes dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 105 et/ou Abielos?

Ἀβιῆτος p. de Sambathaios: 87.3 (*O.Wilck.* 1505 + *BL* II, p. 116); 117.1 (*O.Bodl.* I 300). Thèbes, 154 a.C. (ostraca). Peut-être f. d'Abietos (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.2) et frère de Iesous, f. d'Abietos (*C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.5). Paysans. Identifications suggérées par Schwartz.<sup>129</sup>

Ἀβραμος *C.Pap.Jud.* I 50.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 149). Thèbes, 165 a.C. Fermier de l'impôt sur le pâturage.

<sup>129</sup> Schwartz, p. 63.

Ἀγαῖος p. de Agaumis: *BGU XIV* 2453.3. Thèbes, 154 a.C. Contribuable.

Ἀσιβις p. de Sambathaios: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 114.2 (*O.Bodl.* I 301). Thèbes (Schwartz), II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Contribuable.

Δελλοῦς: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 107.9. (*O.Wilck.* 1233 + *BL II*, p. 97-8). Thèbes (Schwartz), 154/3 a.C.

Ἰάζαρος p. de Simon: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 90.3 (*O.Wilck.* 1255); *C.Pap.Jud.* I 107.2 (*O.Wilck.* 1233 + *BL II*, p. 97-8). Thèbes (Schwartz), 153 (90) et 154/3 a.C. (107). Fermier d'impôt (90: blé; 107: pêche).

Ἰασιβις: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 27.7 (*P.Haun.* I 11). Thèbes, 158 a.C. Officier de cavalerie.

Ἰησοῦς f. de Abietos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 252). Thèbes (Schwartz), II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Paysan?

Ἰσάκις f. de Straton: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 78.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 163); *C.Pap.Jud.* I 79.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 164). Thèbes, 155 a.C. (78) et 151 a.C. (79). Contribuable.

Ἰσμαῖλος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 120.1 (*O.Bodl.* I 299). Thèbes (Schwartz), II<sup>e</sup> ou I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. Un prêtre.

Ἰώσηπς p. de Pythangelos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 89.3 (*O.Wilck.* 729 + *BL II*, p. 74). Thèbes, 154 a.C. Contribuable.

Ἰώσηπος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 100.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 233); *C.Pap.Jud.* I 101.4 (*O.Wilck.* 1513 + *BL II*, p. 116); *C.Pap.Jud.* I 102.4 (*O.Wilck.* 1514 + *BL II*, p. 116). Thèbes (Schwartz), 155/4 a.C. (101) et 154/3 (100 et 102). Fonctionnaire de l'ἀχυροθήκη.

Ἰώσηπος f. de Abdias: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 75.3 (*O.Wilck.* 721). Thèbes, 160/59. Contribuable.

Ἰώσηπος f. de Menodoros: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 113.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 285). Thèbes (Schwartz), III<sup>e</sup> ou II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Liste de noms. Peut-être à identifier à l'un des Iosepos de 100-102 ou 75.

Ῥαλάμινς p. de Theochrestos: 85.4 (*O.Wilck.* 1350 + *BL II*, p. 104). Thèbes, 156 a.C. Fermier d'impôt. Plutôt un nom arabe.

Ῥάλαμς p. de Apo( ): *C.Pap.Jud.* I 68.4 (*O.Wilck.* 1359 + *BL II*, p. 105). Thèbes, 150 ou 139 a.C. Fermier d'impôt. Plutôt un nom arabe.

Καμβαθαῖος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 97.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 230). Thèbes (Schwartz), fin III<sup>e</sup> ou début II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Fermier d'impôt.

Καμβαθαῖος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 51-60 (*O.Bodl.* I 53-6; *O.Wilck.* 1351 et 1354 + *BL* II, p. 104; *O.Wilck.* 1504 + *BL* II, p. 115; *O.Wilck.* 335 + *BL* II, p. 55; *O.Wilck.* 1507-8 + *BL* II, p. 116). Thèbes, 155/4 a.C. Fermier d'impôt.

[Καμβα]θαῖος f. de Abietos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 117.1 (*O.Bodl.* I 300). Thèbes, 154 a.C. Identifié dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* avec Καμβαταῖος dans *C.Pap.Jud.* I 87.

Καμβα(θαῖος) p. de Simon: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 252). Thèbes (Schwartz), II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Paysan?

Καμβαθαῖος f. de Solloumis: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 64.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 60); *C.Pap.Jud.* I 104.4 (*O.Ashm.* 2). Thèbes, 156 (104) et 153 a.C. (64). Acquitte l'*apomoirā* (64); paie l'impôt sur le bétail et sur les chèvres (104). Un propriétaire terrien plutôt qu'un fermier de l'impôt, d'après *C.Pap.Jud.* I, p. 202.

Καμβαταῖος f. de Abietos Poanemoun: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 87.3 (*O.Wilck.* 1505 + *BL* II, p. 116). Thèbes. Identifié dans le *C.Pap.Jud.* I avec Sambathaios 117.

Καμβαταῖος f. de Asibis: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 114.2 (*O.Bodl.* I 301). Thèbes (Schwartz), II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Fermier d'impôt (ou fonctionnaire de banque).

Καμόηλος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 112.6 (*O.Bodl.* I 340). Thèbes (Schwartz), III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Sur une liste de noms (distribution de blé).

Καμπθαῖος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 119.3 (*O.Bodl.* I 40) Thèbes (Schwartz), 191 ou 190 a.C. Contribuable.

Κίμων f. de Abdious: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 73.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 153). Thèbes, 162 a.C. Contribuable.

Κίμων f. de Iazaros: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 90.3 (*O.Wilck.* 1255); *C.Pap.Jud.* I 107.2 (*O.Wilck.* 1253 + *BL* II p. 97-8). Thèbes (Schwartz), 154/3 et 153 (90) a.C. Fermier d'impôt (90: impôt en nature; 107: sur la pêche). A identifier à Simon, le fermier de l'impôt sur la pêche de 61.3 (*O.Wilck.* 337); 62.3, 5 (*O.Wilck.* 339); 63.4 (*O.Wilck.* 34), Thèbes, 154, 153 et 152 a.C.

Κίμω(ν) f. de Sambathaios: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 118.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 252). Thèbes (Schwartz), II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Paysan?

?Cίω(ν) f. de Lolos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 113.4 (*O.Bodl.* I 285). Thèbes (Schwartz), III<sup>e</sup> ou II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Liste de noms. Un Iosepos, f. de Ménodoros, est aussi mentionné dans cette liste. L'identité juive de Simon est cependant incertaine.

?Cοῦλις p. de Horos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 99.5 (*O.Bodl.* I 234). Thèbes (Schwartz), 155 ou 144 a.C. Fermier d'impôt.

Ῥωνίας p. de Noubion: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 86.2 (*O.Bodl.* I 162). Thèbes, 156 ou 155 a.C. Contribuable.

## (2) *Edfou*

Ἰώκητος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 139.5, 8 (*O.Edfou* III 368). Edfou, I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. Prêtre. Membre d'une association tenant des fêtes à boire.

Κεφθαίς: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 139.4 (*O.Edfou* III 368). Edfou, I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. Membre de la même association.

## (3) *Haute Égypte*

Ἀβδιοῦς: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 109.2, 6 (*O.Wilck.* 1231 + *BL* II, p. 97). Ptol. Fermier d'impôt.

Ἀβήτης p. de Simon: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 101.2, 6 (*O.Wilck.* 1513 + *BL* II, p. 116). 154/3 a.C.

Δελλαίας: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 121.3. (*O.Ashm.* 12). II<sup>e</sup> ou I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. Fermier d'impôt ou fonctionnaire de banque?

Ἰαίρης: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 109.3 (*O.Wilck.* 1231 + *BL* II, p. 97). Ptol. Fermier d'impôt.

Νάταν: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 116.3 (*BGU* VI 1474). II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. Liste de noms.

Καμβαθαῖος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 103.5 (*O.Stras.* 326). II<sup>e</sup> - I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. Fermier d'impôt (ou fonctionnaire de banque).

Καμβαθαῖος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 122.1 (*O.Wilck.* 1161). Ptol.

Κάμβαθος: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 115.2, 4 (*O.Stras.* 590). II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.

Κίμων f. de Abietos: *C.Pap.Jud.* I 101.2, 6 (*O.Wilck.* 1513 + *BL* II, p. 116). 154/3 a.C.

(4) *Provenance inconnue (Thèbes?)*

I<sup>ère</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C., peut-être 179/8 a.C. Fragment de lettre avec liste de noms juifs.

’Αβδίας: voir ’Αβδιοῦς.

’Αβδιοῦς f. de Iosepos: *BGU X* 2009.3. A identifier avec l'un de ses homonymes de Thèbes?

[’Αβδ]ιοῦς f. de Sabbataios: *BGU X* 2009.4. A identifier avec l'un de ses homonymes de Thèbes?

’Αβδιοῦς ou ’Αβδίας p. de [ ]gonis: *BGU X* 2009.2. Probablement à identifier avec l'un des deux précédents.

’Ιώσηπος p. de Abdious: *BGU X* 2009.3. A identifier avec l'un de ses homonymes de Thèbes?

Καββαταῖος ὅς [καί: *BGU X* 2009.4. Orthographe du nom non attestée à Thèbes.

Καββαταῖος p. de [Abd]ious: *BGU X* 2009.4. Même que le précédent?

Σεπταῖος f. de Septaios: *BGU X* 2009.4.

Σεπταῖος p. de Septaios: *BGU X* 2009.4.

### III. Noms hébraïques dans documents démotiques autres que OD IFAO d'Edfou (Références d'après DNB).

(1) *Thèbes*

Šbtj, époux de Ta-p-Y‘h (?): *O. Mattha* 134.1 (DNB, p. 964). Ostracon de Thèbes (?), III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. reçu de versement de l'impôt sur le sel pour une 4<sup>e</sup> année; DO Wien 129.1 (*Orientalia Suecana* 18 [1969] 72-4; DNB, p. 964). Reçu de versement de l'impôt sur le sel pour une 3<sup>e</sup> année, Thèbes, III<sup>e</sup> s. a.C.

Šbtj: *P. Brux. Dem.* 5, col. II.16 (DNB, p. 964). Tombe de Šbtj mentionnée dans une liste de liturgies de Thèbes, 154/3 ou 143/2 a.C.

Šbtj, p. de Ḥr-mjḥsj (Harmiousis): Turin Suppl. 6082v.9 (DNB, p. 964, avec corr.). Témoin dans un contrat de mariage de 108 a.C.

La majorité des autres noms sont égyptiens, avec quelques noms grecs.

Šbtj, p. de Tsjths: DO BM 25139.1-2 (*DNB*, p. 964 avec corr.). Reçu sur ostracon de 88 a.C.

Šbtj: DO Berlin P 765.12 (*DNB*, p. 964). Compte concernant du vin (?). Thèbes (?), probablement 19/18 a.C.

(2) *Haute Égypte ou provenance non spécifiée*

Jsp (Iosef), p. de ʾrstmns (Aristomenes): *BGU VI* 1454.1; Lecture *DNB*, p. 93.

Jʾqwbs (Iakoubos), DO Warschau UW 3254.3 (*DNB*, p. 92).

J'srʾ (Iazaros, de Yeho'azar), BM 10517.5 (*DNB*, p. 92, inédit).

Pʾ-šr-mtjʾls, "Le fils de Matièlos," ODL 139.1-2 (*O.Louvre I*, p. 243) *DNB*, p. 250.

Šbtj (Šabbethay), *O.Leid.Dem.* 526.1 (*DNB*, p. 964).

?Šbtj (Šhabbethay), p. de Pltn (Platon): *BGU VI* 1454.2 (*DNB*, p. 964).

Šm'n (Šimon), p. de Tubiʾ (Tobyah): *BGU VI* 1454.1 (*DNB*, p. 967).

Tubiʾ (Tobyah), f. de Šm'n (Šimon): *BGU VI* 1454.1 (*DNB*, p. 1269).

ʾjšhg (Isaac), fils de Sbrbwns (?): *O.Mattha* 233.1 (*DNB*, p. 3). Reçu de versement de blé pour la nourriture de l'Ibis. Ostracon d'Ombos (?), an 29 de Ptolémée VI Philométor ou Ptolémée VIII Évergète II. Peut-on envisager plutôt une provenance thébaine?

'bdiwʾ (Abdaïos/Abdiou), patr.: *BGU VI* 1454.3 (*DNB*, p. 96).

SYLVIE HONIGMAN

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## Deserted Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyūm

"Karanis was abandoned over centuries and the 'Pompeii premise' in which a site is found in working order, simply abandoned by its people, a kind of archaeological *Mary Celeste*, does not apply."<sup>1</sup>

"If we wish to shed some light on these causes, we must first make sure that we know when a village was abandoned. A date will enable us to focus on the circumstances, the combination of factors that led to the death of the village. Yet even if we have established at least the approximate date of a desertion, we may still be off the mark, for villages die slowly. It is therefore important to find out when the process of desertion began."<sup>2</sup>

"[A] chronological classification must remain what it is: a necessary hypothesis that is both accepted as valid and called into question, in a double movement that is not contradictory but complementary."<sup>3</sup>

This article, originally delivered as a paper at the 117<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association,<sup>4</sup> is a development

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London-New York 2002) 57.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Marie Pesez and Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, "The Deserted Villages of France," in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (eds.), *Rural Society in France: Selections from the Annales E.S.C.*, trans. Robert Forster and Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore 1977) 76-106, at 78.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandre Grandazzi, *The Foundations of Rome: Myth and History*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca, NY-London 1997) 127.

<sup>4</sup> In Chicago, 3-6 January 2003, as part of a panel organized by Petra Sijpesteijn and Lennart Sundelin on "Comparative Approaches to Early Medieval Egypt." The title (but not the subtitle) has been changed; text and notes have been somewhat revised. In this work I have been immensely helped by Lennart Sundelin (on Arabic technicalities), Dominic Rathbone (for all matters Fayyūmic), Terry G. Wilfong (for Coptic sources and for the holdings of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology), and, especially, Ian Begg (for references, articles, and an extensive e-mail correspondence on Gilbert Bagnani and the archaeology of late Tebtunis). Rathbone and Begg read an early draft of the paper, offered valuable criticisms, and saved me from potentially embarrassing mistakes. Scott



of twin papers given by Roger Bagnall and me at the XX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Études Byzantines in Paris, 19-25 August 2001, as part of a "Table ronde" on villages in the Byzantine world. On that occasion, we were responsible for Egyptian villages, he for villages as evidenced (mainly) in the Greek papyri, I for the medieval period based on al-Nābulṣī's description of Egypt's Fayyūm Province, *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm* (c. 1245 A.D.). Thematically, we had agreed to explore such topics as the physical relationship between villages and their central cities, ranges in village sizes, hierarchies of settlements, in short, "geographies of power."<sup>5</sup> As I reconsidered both papers in revising mine for publication, I came to see that in our experiment, despite Bagnall's good work, but perhaps because of the way we had defined our concerns, the Greek documents of the fourth to the eighth centuries and al-Nābulṣī's thirteenth-century Arabic text rarely connected. And since ancient historians have traditionally treated the history of the late antique Fayyūm as discontinuous,<sup>6</sup> I was led to ask whether a continuous history of the Fayyūm, from antiquity to the Middle Ages, was after all possible.

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Bucking offered important suggestions, causing me to take a closer look at the article's archaeological components, both in themselves and in their relation to the textual evidence. I received advice on numismatics from my Loyola colleagues Jacqueline Long and Scott VanHorn. Roger Bagnall also offered helpful suggestions. All shortcomings in this finished product are, of course, mine, not theirs. Many thanks are due to the interlibrary loan staff of Loyola University Chicago's Cudahy Library for courteous and unflagging assistance, especially in summer 2002.

The following abbreviated titles are used:

*Atti* = *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23-29 Agosto 1998* (Florence 2001)

*Davoli* = Paola Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*. Missione Congiunta delle Università Bologna e di Lecce in Egitto, Monografie 1 (1998)

*TF* = *Ta'riḫ al-Fayyūm* [B. Moritz, ed., *Description du Fayoum au VII<sup>me</sup> siècle de l'Hégire par Abou 'Osmān il Naboulsi il Safadi*. Publications de la Bibliothèque Khédiviale XI (Cairo 1899)].

<sup>5</sup> As reflected in the title of Bagnall's paper, "Village and City: Geographies of Power in Byzantine Egypt."

<sup>6</sup> A recent, significant exception: Jairus Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001), *passim*.

More narrowly: Was it possible to fill the void, or at least reduce the gap, between the Greek papyrological record and al-Nābulṣī? My interest here, as in the Paris paper, was with the Fayyūm's ecology in a very broad sense, specifically the changing fortunes of some of its village settlements over the long term. To pursue this aim, since the Greek papyri and al-Nābulṣī tell only part of the story, it was clear that it would be necessary to consult evidence that papyrological historians have until recently not sufficiently noticed: on the one hand, archaeology, on the other, texts in Coptic and Arabic.<sup>7</sup>

At the outset it is necessary to point out that the region under discussion is a lake-like, roughly fan-shaped depression southwest and across the Nile from Cairo. It is not on the Nile but linked to it by the offshoot known as the Bahr Yūsuf that breaks into the Fayyūm through a gap at al-Lahūn. The area was apparently dry under the Old Kingdom but flooded during the Middle Kingdom's XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Centuries later, under the early Ptolemies, the lake was reduced in size by restricting the inflow of water at the Lahūn Gap.<sup>8</sup> As a consequence, during the mid-third century B.C., the Fayyūm's arable area more than tripled, accommodating some 145 hamlets and villages, new and old.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See now, however, for papyrology and archaeology: Roger S. Bagnall, "Archaeology and Papyrology," *JRA* 1 (1988) 197-202; *eund.*, "Archaeological Work on Hellenistic and Roman Egypt," *AJA* 105 (2001) 227-43. For archaeology and the papyri of Karanis: Peter van Minnen, "House-to-House Enquiries: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 227-51 (detailed identification of documents with exact findspots in rooms of houses and salient examples). For topography, archaeology, and the papyri: Dominic Rathbone, "Mapping the South-West Fayyum: Sites and Texts," *Atti* Vol. II 1109-17, and references in the next note. Recently: Paola Davoli, *Archeologia e Papiri*. Gli Album del Centro di Studi Papirologici dell'Università degli Studi di Lecce 2 (Naples 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Dominic Rathbone, "Surface Survey and the Settlement History of the Ancient Fayum," in *Archeologia e papiri nel Fayyum. Storia della ricerca, problemi e prospettive. Atti del convegno internazionale, Siracusa, 24-25 Maggio 1996* (Syra-cuse 1997) 7-19. Cf. *eund.*, "Towards a Historical Topography of the Fayum," in Donald M. Bailey (ed.), *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt*. *JRA* Supplement 19 (1996) 50-6.

<sup>9</sup> Dorothy J. Thompson, "*Ethnê*, Taxes and Administrative Geography in Early Ptolemaic Egypt," *Atti* Vol. II 1255-63, at 1257 (number of settlements).

Thus recreated, the Fayyūm, according to the standard view, remained prosperous well into the Roman period. Then came the inevitable decline. The great Michael Rostovtzeff, in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926), saw the Fayyūm's regional decline as a component in the empire-wide decline during what he called "the period of military anarchy." "The predominant features of Egyptian life in the third century," he wrote (480-1), "were the gradual depopulation of the land, the decay of the irrigation system, and the increase of waste and unproductive land [,] . . . [a] state of things [that] was not confined to the Fayyum."<sup>10</sup> In this connection, Rostovtzeff specifically cited the villages of Theadelphia and Philadelphia, in the northwest and northeast Fayyūm respectively, where eyewitness testimony from the papyri suggested grave and irreversible trauma.<sup>11</sup> Not fully available to Rostovtzeff in 1926 were the results of excavations conducted by the University of Michigan from 1924 to 1935 at Karanis in the far northeast Fayyūm.<sup>12</sup> Had they been available, he would undoubtedly have

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<sup>10</sup> For the persistence of the notion that the Fayyūm in general declined in the third century, see, e.g., Flavia Ippolito, "I tessitori del Fayyum in epoca greca e romana: le testimonianze papiracee," *Atti* Vol. II 701-15, at 706 ("Bisogna inoltre tener presente che a partire dalla seconda metà del III secolo d.C. si assiste ad un progressivo degrado del sistema di irrigazione del Fayyum, fenomeno che contribuì all'abbandono di non pochi villaggi e città della regione"), and Orsolina Montevecchi, "'Ioni nati in Egitto': La parabola della grecità nella valle del Nilo," *Atti* Vol. II 983-94, at 991 (the Fayyūm as "una regione che subisce nel III secolo un forte degrado"). For reassessments putting the third century in a more positive light, see Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 1993) 1-13 (the empire generally), Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (above, n. 1) 249-59 (Egypt, especially its cities, though at 258 pointing to "dramatic falls in population in the northern Fayum"). See earlier A.C. Johnson, "Roman Egypt in the Third Century," *JJP* 4 (1950) 151-8 (civic building projects as signs of third-century prosperity).

<sup>11</sup> See especially the petition to the prefect from the villagers of Theadelphia (*P.Thead.* 17 = *Sel.Pap.* II 295 = *P.Sakaon* 44) of 331/2 A.D.: only twenty-five tax-paying villagers were left, accountable for 500 arouras of land. Others had fled to the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite nomes and refused to return: a seemingly desperate situation. For another copy of this famous document: *P.Turner* 44.

<sup>12</sup> Traianos Gagos, "The University of Michigan Collection: Current Trends and Future Perspectives," *Atti* Vol. I 511-37, esp. 520-5 ("The Challenge of Karanis: Papyrology Meets Archaeology"), with extensive bibliography.

used them to good effect.<sup>13</sup> As it is, the single most influential, and frequently cited, statement on the Karanis material has been the short article by A.E.R. Boak on "The Population of Roman and Byzantine Karanis," published in 1955.<sup>14</sup> Using the long Michigan poll-tax registers dating to the 170s when the Antonine plague was still active, Boak estimated Karanis' population at between 2,160 and 2,560.<sup>15</sup> Later documents, from the early fourth century, led him to conclude that by then Karanis had become, in his words, "an exceedingly small agricultural community of 140 or slightly more landholders." In Boak's judgment (162), this proved that Karanis had suffered an "appalling shrinkage of population." The village nonetheless continued to hang on, declining gradually until its ultimate demise in the mid-fifth century.<sup>16</sup>

In their writings on the Fayyūm's decline, Rostovtzeff (necessarily) and Boak (apparently by choice) relied exclusively on the

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<sup>13</sup> Gagos, *Atti* Vol. I 521; Davoli, *Archeologia e Papiri* (above, n. 7) 14. Plates of and references in notes to Karanis (Caranis) appear in later editions of *SEHRE*, but there are no additions to the text. See, however, the references to the village, and to the Michigan excavations and their expectations, in *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 260 (Karanis) ("We hope that the excavators of Karanis, where the largest quantities of such objects [sc. agricultural and industrial implements] have been found, will furnish a comprehensive comparative study and technical analysis of them"). 294 (Karanis) (pigeon houses), 360 (Caranis) (Michigan excavations and mapping the irrigation system), 361 (Caranis) (a Ptolemaic foundation), 908-9 (Karanis) (shrinkage of the village area in late Hellenistic times).

<sup>14</sup> *Historia* 4 (1955) 157-62.

<sup>15</sup> *P.Mich.* IV 223-5. The specific years are 171/2, 172/3, and 173/4. For Karanis and the Antonine plague, see, more recently, Dominic Rathbone, "Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36 (1990) 104-42, at 114 and 132, estimating a drop in population from 3,600 to 2,300 between 150 and the 170s. See further Walter Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt*. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, Supplementum 228 (Leiden 2001), esp. at 162-6, and "A Model of Demographic and Economic Change in Roman Egypt after the Antonine Plague," *JRA* 15 (2002) 97-114; cf. Roger S. Bagnall, "The Effects of Plague: Model and Evidence," *ibid.* 114-20.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 126 with A.E.R. Boak and H.C. Youtie, "Flight and Oppression in Fourth-Century Egypt," *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* (Milan 1957) II 325-37; *P.Cair.Isid.* 128. For an evaluation of Boak's population theory and its wider application: Gagos, *Atti* Vol. I 522-3.

papyrus documentation just mentioned. Of the villages in question, Rostovtzeff's Philadelphia and Theadelphia, though productive of many papyri, are as archaeological sites relatively poor. Boak's Karanis, however, and a fourth village, Soknopaiou Nesos, are another matter. Besides having yielded papyri, they are significant archaeological sites, widely excavated, though incompletely published.<sup>17</sup> And it is these last two villages that were reconsidered by Peter van Minnen in a 1995 article on "Deserted Villages: Two Late Antique Town Sites in Egypt."<sup>18</sup> Van Minnen's approach was conditioned by recognition of the well-known phenomenon of deserted villages in medieval Europe and driven by the intention to evaluate the last days of Soknopaiou Nesos and Karanis through their archaeology as well as from their papyri.<sup>19</sup>

The much simpler case was Soknopaiou Nesos. Located in the desert zone north of Lake Moeris, it was essentially an Egyptian temple village, "peripheral with respect to the fertile area of the Fayyūm"<sup>20</sup> but associated with several villages in the Fayyūm's agricultural zone.<sup>21</sup> It had little arable land of its own; to compensate, it depended on leasing arrangements for land in villages that did have access to irrigation. Its economy depended (further) on pastoralism, fishing, customs collections from desert caravans entering and leaving the Fayyūm, and the village temple economy.<sup>22</sup> The se-

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<sup>17</sup> Davoli 139-48 (Philadelphia), 279-93 (Theadelphia), 73-116 (Karanis), 39-71 (Soknopaiou Nesos). The Michigan excavations at Karanis lasted from 1924 until 1935. The excavations at Soknopaiou Nesos, however, lasted only one season (November 1931-February 1932), so its remains are less well known: Davoli, *op.cit.*, and *ead.*, "Problemi dell'archeologia dell'Herakleides," *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin 13.-19.8.1995* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) 204-16, at 207.

<sup>18</sup> *BASP* 32 (1995) 41-56.

<sup>19</sup> For the medieval analogy, cf. my own remarks, "The 'New Papyrology' and Ancient Social History," *Ancient History Bulletin* 5 (1991) 159-69, esp. 162.

<sup>20</sup> Davoli 53-4 ("periferico rispetto all'area fertile del Fayyum"). The village's principal water supply remains something of a mystery.

<sup>21</sup> E.g., Bacchias: Thompson, *Atti* Vol. II 1259, see., e.g., *P.Lond.* II 322 (p. 159); Heraklia: Deborah W. Hobson, "The Village of Heraklia in the Arsinoite Nome," *BASP* 22 (1985) 101-15.

<sup>22</sup> To cite but one of her relevant articles: Deborah W. Hobson, "Agricultural Land and Economic Life in Soknopaiou Nesos," *BASP* 21 (1984) 89-109.

ries of excavated coins ends in the mid-150s (156/7, to be exact) in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The population, struck by plague, was significantly reduced by the early third century. But the plague, in van Minnen's view, did not finish the village off, nor did a shift in caravan routes, nor the demise of the temple's crocodile cult. Rather, Soknopaiou Nesos, so vulnerably situated, fell victim to a general failure of the irrigation regime of the northeast Fayyūm. The lands upon which its survival depended fell out of cultivation. The last dated papyrus to mention Soknopaiou Nesos belongs to 239 A.D.<sup>23</sup> The village was abandoned soon after. Significantly, the site has yielded no traces of Christianity. A late coin of Constans I dating to 305/6 was, according to van Minnen (42), "presumably dropped by a fourth-century visitor."<sup>24</sup>

Clearly, Soknopaiou Nesos was a "rather unusual and isolated settlement,"<sup>25</sup> and obviously its end does not take us very far toward the Islamic period. With the village of Karanis, not too far east of Soknopaiou Nesos, our chances improve. To begin with, Karanis was larger and more diverse than Soknopaiou Nesos. It did not depend on temples for its livelihood; though near the end of the line, it did have access to the canal system. Boak's assessment of the village's fortunes has already been sketched. Van Minnen's analysis is more nuanced. Based on a table of surviving papyri, he concludes that Karanis, like Soknopaiou Nesos, suffered greatly in

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<sup>23</sup> There is a late (sixth-century), dubious reference to "Nesos" (only) in *SPP* III 93.1. An interesting complication: *P.Lond.* II 322 of 214/5 (?) A.D. lists twelve inhabitants of Bacchias who had migrated to Soknopaiou Nesos because of the desertification of their own village. Cf. *P.Fouad* I 29 (224) for more of Bacchias' problems with its water supply (drinking water had to be fetched from distant springs).

<sup>24</sup> Van Minnen, "Deserted Villages" (above, n. 18) 42, but see below, n. 50. Cf. R.A. Haatvedt, "IV. The Coins," in A.E.R. Boak (ed.), *Soknopaiou Nesos: The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimê in 1931-32* (Ann Arbor 1935) 37-47: 95 coins were found in the Soknopaiou Nesos excavations, 53 of them in houses, 42 in the surface rubbish. The coin of Constans (Kelsey Museum inv. 40087) was among the latter. According to Haatvedt (38), it must have been "accidentally dropped by some visitor to the site, possibly a soldier or one of the desert guards." No signs of Christianity: E.E. Peterson and A.E.R. Boak, "Topography and Architecture," in Boak (ed.), *Soknopaiou Nesos*, 1-21, at 21.

<sup>25</sup> Rathbone, "Surface Survey" (above, n. 8) 17.

the mid-third century, but, unlike Soknopaiou Nesos, was not extinguished: it experienced instead a revival in the late third and early fourth century, "the effect of a deliberate resettlement of the site" (49). But the resuscitated village was a mere "shadow of its former self," a fact reflected in the archaeology of its domestic sphere, more restricted and impoverished than in earlier times. Nevertheless, the series of coins recovered from Karanis, consistent to the mid-fifth century, suggested yet another rebound in fortune. At the same time, however, a Copenhagen papyrus dated to 15 May 439 (*P.Haun.* III 58) showed Karanis, now a Christian village with a clergy of two priests and five deacons, to be experiencing serious difficulties with its water supply: a village in deep trouble. Finally, van Minnen suggests, a difficult fifth-century Columbia papyrus (*P.Col.* VIII 242)<sup>26</sup> points to Karanis' last days: only a few recalcitrant inhabitants were left; the rest had gone. The documents fall silent. Karanis, like Soknopaiou Nesos, becomes history. The culprit, once again: the failure of the irrigation regime in this part of the Fayyūm. In the course of his presentation, it must be remarked, van Minnen dismisses the dating of some Karanis pottery to later than the fifth century. Likewise deemed negligible are two late coins from the reigns of Justinian and Heraclius since these "fall out of the series and were presumably dropped by visitors to the already deserted site in the sixth and seventh centuries respectively" (46).<sup>27</sup>

This summary does scant justice to van Minnen's presentation. I limit myself to three remarks. (1) To van Minnen, the Karanis coin series, intact to the mid-fifth century, indicates a late resurgence of the village. Yet he also cites the Copenhagen papyrus of

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<sup>26</sup> As re-edited and reinterpreted by J.R. Rea, "P.Col. VIII 242: Caranis in the Fifth Century," *Proceedings of the XXth International Congress of Papyrology* (Copenhagen 1994) 266-72. The text itself is difficult, but its lengthy and clumsy address is even more puzzling.

<sup>27</sup> Kelsey Museum inv. 66889 and 66890, "surface finds from disturbed contexts (probably from the area to the south of the part of Karanis excavated in 1928)." –Terry G. Wilfong (e-mail, 4 September 2002). These coins are numbers 1744 (A.D. 539/40) and 1745 (Heraclius, without specific date) in Rolfe A. Haatvedt and Enoch E. Peterson, *Coins from Karanis: The University of Michigan Excavations 1924-1935* (Ann Arbor 1964) 348. See next note.

439 as portraying Karanis, not necessarily "as a destitute and languishing community," merely one that was "much smaller than in earlier days" and "inexorably" (and very shortly, it seems) moving toward its end (50-2, at 52). (2) In a fresh look at the evidence, Nigel Pollard has argued that the pottery record, taken on its own, based on comparative typologies and imported wares, establishes that Karanis remained prosperous through the fifth century, surviving at least into the sixth.<sup>28</sup> (3) The Copenhagen papyrus, acquired through the antiquities market and not from excavation, is in its own way almost as much a late stray as the coins of Justinian and Heraclius just mentioned.<sup>29</sup> It may indeed show a village having troubles with access to water, but this kind of event may also be construed simply as an endemic phenomenon of the agricultural

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<sup>28</sup> "The Chronology and Economic Condition of Late Roman Karanis: An Archaeological Reassessment," *JARCE* 35 (1998) 147-62, using the pottery housed in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Ann Arbor. The village was ultimately deserted, but one cannot say when (Pollard). Pollard, writing without reference to van Minnen's "Deserted Villages," is *im Nutzen* anticipated by Christina Grande, *JRS* 75 (1985) 284, in a succinct but penetrating review of L.A. Shier, *Terracotta Lamps from Karanis* (Ann Arbor 1978), e.g.: "[T]he excavators argued that occupation ended in the mid-fifth century A.D., but some of the lamps would appear to be more comfortably assigned on stylistic grounds to the next century, or, in some cases, possibly later still. Here, the dependence on an old excavation would seem to be inhibiting the objective dating of the lamps." Pollard (159-61) also reinterprets the coin evidence as presented by the excavators. Among other considerations, the series of Karanis coins is not continuous, but dominated by hoards of the late third and early fourth centuries (neither a sign of normal economic activity nor a measure of population, but probably indicative of "the general instability of the period"); for reasons having to do with the production of coinage in the fifth century, little fifth-century coinage was found at Karanis because very little reached the village from without. Likewise (161) the silence of the papyri, owing to the water table and the susceptibility of perishable materials to destruction, especially at the site's highest levels, cannot, according to Pollard, be taken as an argument for Karanis' fifth-century abandonment.

<sup>29</sup> The papyrus came to Copenhagen in one of two lots bought with monies from the Carlsberg Foundation in the late 1920s and early 1930s, "apparently with the help of Fr. Zucker and W. Schubart" (<http://www.igl.ku.dk/~bulow/PHaun.html>). In the database of the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis (<http://aquila.papy.uni-heidelberg.de>), the next oldest dated papyrus from Karanis is a fragmentary document of 21 December 381 (*SB XXII 15798*).



scene.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, in Danielle Bonneau's interpretation of the Copenhagen papyrus,<sup>31</sup> Karanis in its supposed last days becomes a village represented not by two priests and five deacons,<sup>32</sup> but by *twelve* priests and five deacons! This prompts Roger Bagnall to an amusing remark: "Karanis of the later fourth century," he once wrote, "gives the impression of a dying village, and it is scantily documented in the fifth century, but with seventeen clergy it had either managed a revival or supported too many clergy."<sup>33</sup> Here, it seems, Bagnall sounds a note of mild perplexity while van Minnen is torn between a mid-fifth century Karanis that was both up and running *and* inexorably dying. Under present circumstances, Richard Alston's conclusion, that "we must suppose substantial occupation [sc. of Karanis] . . . to c. AD 500," affords a comfortable, but perhaps much too conservative a compromise.<sup>34</sup> In any case, note

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<sup>30</sup> I borrow and adapt a phrase from Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford 1983) 121. This is essentially Pollard's take on the Copenhagen papyrus (above, n. 28, 148): "In fact, disputes over water rights are common in all societies depending on irrigated agriculture, prosperous or otherwise, and there is no reason to assume wider economic decline from this papyrus alone, if one reads it without the baggage of earlier work on Karanis." For a recent collection and discussion of Ptolemaic evidence on the subject, see Barbara Anagnostou-Canas, "Litiges en rapport avec l'eau dans l'Egypte ptolémaïque," *Atti Vol. I* 41-9.

<sup>31</sup> "Un règlement de l'usage de l'eau au V<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère. Commentaire de P.Haun.inv. 318," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* (Cairo 1979) II 3-23 (based on the document's 1971 *editio princeps*). See, however, John Rea's subsequent re-edition (with its return to two priests and five deacons): "P.Haun. III 58: Caranis in the Fifth Century," *ZPE* 99 (1993) 89-95.

<sup>32</sup> Which in itself causes a slight problem: "The village was still able to support two priests and five deacons; if the village had been very small it would have had only one priest." —van Minnen, "Deserted Villages" (above, n. 18) 51, using Rea's text and translation (preceding note).

<sup>33</sup> *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 283, cf. 284: "[T]his text gives a healthier impression of the village than its fourth-century documents." Cf., however, p. 111 (Karanis in "its final spasm of life" in the late third century). See also James G. Keenan, "Egypt," Chapter 21c in *The Cambridge Ancient History XIV* (2001) 612-37, at 619-20 (twelve priests and five deacons). Both Bagnall and I assume that each priest (if not each deacon) represents a separate church. This of course begs proof. Perhaps churches, even if small, had more than one priest.

<sup>34</sup> *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History* (London 1995) 117-23, at 119, pointing to complications in the stratigraphy, the large number of

should be taken of *BGU* II 608, a list of names by villages, Karanis (in the genitive) in column 1, Stratonos in column 2, assigned by its editor to the Arab period. Nineteen male inhabitants of Karanis are listed (miscounted by the scribe as twenty). It is also likely that Karanis (as *Καρα[νίδος]*) should be restored in *SPP* X 67.2 (VII-VIII A.D.). Cf. *SB* I 5339.25.

Karanis therefore seems to have survived in some form into the early Islamic period, but if we wish to go deeper, we are going to have to look elsewhere, away from van Minnen's Soknopaiou Nesos and Karanis, to the Fayyūm's deep south and the fabled site of Tebtunis, located near the modern village of Umm al-Buraygāt. Grenfell and Hunt excavated there, famously, in the winter of 1899-1900, concentrating on the human cemetery, the cemetery of sacred mummified crocodiles, and the Roman town—all rich in papyrus finds. Archaeologically the site was dominated by the Temple of Soknebtunis (the local variant of the crocodile god) with its processional way and adjacent dwellings. The combination of archaeology and the failure of dated textual finds after the 260s<sup>35</sup> suggests the

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fourth- and fifth-century coins, and the Karanis glassware (mostly third century and later). Too conservative: see above and n. 28. See also Kathryn A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London-New York 1999) 308-13 ("Fayum, Graeco-Roman Sites"), at 310: "[T]he pottery from the site suggests continued (or renewed) habitation of the site well into the sixth and possibly seventh centuries before it was abandoned." —Terry G. Wilfong.

<sup>35</sup> References to Tebtunis are rare in Greek papyri after the 260s. There are 21 possibly later references in the listing of A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano* IV, 4 (Milan 1986) 377-82, in six lines of text against nearly 150 lines of references for the preceding periods (beginning in 250 B.C.). These include *P.Michael*. 21 [if restored] (285), 22 (292), and 24 (296). Eight other documents from the earlier part of the late period (third-fourth century) are dated, by palaeography and context, only by century (seven to the third, one to the third/fourth century), and only one of the later references (fifth-eighth century) is dated by year. Thus the article on "Umm el-Barakāt" in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (vol. 7, 2289-91), published in 1991, is misleading when it identifies Tebtunis as a "site where numerous Ptolemaic to Byzantine papyri were found" (my stresses). Here the author seems to have been misled by one of his two bibliographical citations, the 1934 article by H. Kees in Paulys *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (VA, Pt. 2, 103), which in turn apparently relies on *P.Tebt.* I and II to prove that the site "bekannt geworden [ist] durch die dort 1899/1900 an Krokodilmumien gefundenen Papyri aus frühptolemaischer bis byzantinischer Zeit." *P.Tebt.* I justifies Ptolemaic (al-

temple area had been abandoned in the third century, but Christian remains to the north of the ancient site proved a survival of the village in some form. A hypothetical solution may be found in the proposition, based on Greek papyrus evidence of the mid-sixth and early seventh centuries, that Tebtunis had, under Theodosius I (379-95) or Theodosius II (402-50), been rechristened Theodosiopolis and given juridical status as the capital city of a territory co-extensive with the old Polemon district of the Arsinoite nome.<sup>36</sup> If this hypothesis is right, not only was Roman Tebtunis not abandoned, but it achieved even higher status as Byzantine Theodosiopolis.

Troublesome for the Theodosiopolis hypothesis, however, is the re-emergence of the village name Tebtunis, now spelled Teptunis, in documents, mainly village lists, dating to the seventh-eighth centuries.<sup>37</sup> When the village, later still, makes its next significant appearance, it is not in Greek as Theodosiopolis or Teptunis, but, according to generally accepted probability, in Coptic as  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ .<sup>38</sup> The

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though the crocodile papyri are hardly *early* Ptolemaic); but the last securely dated Roman-period text in volume II dates to 265 A.D. (*P.Tebt.* 368)—not Byzantine by anybody's standard; and nothing in *P.Tebt.* II derives from mummies.

<sup>36</sup> Georgina Fantoni, *CPR* XIV (published in 1989) pp. 41-8. Of course, as Roger Bagnall points out (e-mail, 2 October 2002), this still leaves a considerable gap in Tebtunis' history. The gap is somewhat mitigated by *P.Prag.* II 131 (455 A.D.), mentioning Psinteo of the Theodosiopolite nome (see lines 7-8 note). For other recent references, see *CPR* XXIV, esp. 27.10 note. It will be interesting to see whether recent excavations (see below) will lend support to the Fantoni hypothesis, which is based solely on documentary papyri. The relevant papyri, it should be noted, do not have Tebtunis as their provenance, but (probably) Kimān Fāris; see next note.

<sup>37</sup> The several late documents that refer to Teptunis are unlikely to have been produced there; rather the majority (especially Wessely's Vienna papyri in *SPP* III, X, and XX) likely come from one of the clandestine "Fayyūm finds" (in 1877 and 1883: Davoli 150) in the ruins of Kimān Fāris northwest of Madinat al-Fayyūm. In these Teptunis sometimes appears in lists along with other Fayyūm villages (now called  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$  rather than  $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ ): *SPP* X 80, 108, 138, 158, 287v (in the Louvre), and X 239 = XX 229. The last, of the seventh-eighth century, preserves in cols. I-III an alphabetical list of villages beginning with nu and running through omega. Teptunis falls just a few lines after Tali (Arabic Talīt), for which see below. In other words, these texts can hardly be proven to have Teptunis as their provenance.

<sup>38</sup> For specifics on much of the Coptic and Arabic documentation and the basis for much of what follows: Sophia Björnesjö, "Toponymie de Teptynis à l'époque

pertinent references come in the form of colophons to Coptic manuscripts written by scribes from Toutōn, commissioned for donation to distant monasteries.<sup>39</sup> Dated by the era of the martyrs (284 A.D.), these range from 861/2 to 939/40,<sup>40</sup> not counting a reader's note dated to 1014.<sup>41</sup> In addition, there are plentiful Arabic references to Tutūn (ططون) or its residents in papyrus and paper documents from the late ninth into the eleventh century.<sup>42</sup> Toutōn/Tutūn then disappears from the documentary record, but it has served well here by translating us from ancient to medieval times.

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islamique," *Annales Islamologiques* 27 (1993) 233-43. Cf. Stefan Timm, *Das christliche-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* VI (Wiesbaden 1992) 2887-92. Todd Hickey advises me of possible references to Tebtunis in Pahlavi documents of the Sassanian period (619-29 A.D.). See Dieter Weber, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* Part III (London 1992) P. 19.6 and P. 63.3 (and commentary); cf. Anhang E: Ortsnamen, at p. 245.

<sup>39</sup> The Monastery of Michael the Archangel in the Fayyūm (earlier) and the White Monastery of Apa Schenute at Sohāg (later on); references in next note.

<sup>40</sup> A. van Lantschoot, *Receuil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens de l'Égypte*, Vol. I, *Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques*. Bibliothèque du Muséon (Louvain 1929), XII (861/2), XIV (889/90), XIX (892/3), XXIII (894/5 or 897/8), XXXI (905/6), XLVI (903/4), XLVII (early X), L (913/4), LI (927/8), LII (between 923 and 933), LIII (939/40), LIV (939/40), LV (939/40) [and perhaps LVII (961/2)].

<sup>41</sup> *The Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 7, p. 2283 s.v. Tutūn (René-Georges Coquin), but cf. vol. 5, s.v. Monasteries of the Fayyum, 1650-1 (also by Coquin). The latter, on the basis of the colophons, seems to imply the existence of monastic scriptoria at Tutūn; the former settles for the probability of scriptoria that were "small family workshops or those of individual copyists." The main problem is our ignorance of the findspots of the relevant texts. If anything, context implies (based on the identity of the recipients of the donated manuscripts, see notes 39-40) that the provenance was not Tutūn even though the texts were probably written there.

<sup>42</sup> See Björnesjö and Timm (above, n. 38), cf., e.g., Raif Georges Khoury, *Chrestomathie de papyrologie arabe* (Leiden-New York-Köln 1993), nos. 27 (950), 53 (983), 47 (992), 57 (1004), 41 (1012/3), 54 (1014). See also Adolph Grohmann, "New Discoveries in Arabic Papyri: An Arabic Tax-Account Book (Inv. No. 400) Found in Umm el-Bureigāt (Tebtynis) in 1916," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 32 (1949-1950) 159-70, for early tenth-century papyri, Arabic and Coptic, found in a wooden box, including (p. 160) a letter mentioning Tutūn. See now also CPR XXI (= Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *Arabic Agricultural Leases and Tax Receipts from Egypt, 148-427 A.H./765-1035 A.D.* [Vienna 2001]), nos. 61 (872/3), 73 (901/2), and 80 (929/30)—all receipts for land-tax (*kharāj*).

As for medieval Tutūn's archaeological zone, it lies north, and northeast, of ancient Tebtunis.<sup>43</sup> The main points of interest have been four churches.<sup>44</sup> The first was excavated by Grenfell and Hunt in one week in December during their 1899-1900 fieldwork.<sup>45</sup> They left no detailed account, but they did leave a notebook, with a record of inscriptions, and photographs. The church walls were decorated with frescoes, described by C.C. Walters in an article published in 1989.<sup>46</sup> Some of the paintings had labels in Coptic, a couple had Arabic inscriptions. Walters was inclined to see the frescoed church as belonging to a monastic complex and the paintings as

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<sup>43</sup> It is sometimes (e.g., Davoli 199) hypothesized that the village's center gravitated in that direction as its arable area contracted, creating what might be termed a "horizontal stratigraphy" and relegating the ancient site to pigeons, potters, and stonecutters (Alexandre Grandazzi, *The Foundation of Rome* [above, n. 3] 138, for the term "horizontal stratigraphy"; Gilberto Bagnani, "Gli scavi di Tebtunis," *Bollettino d'Arte* 28 [1935] 376-87, at 387, pigeons, potters; stonecutters are mentioned elsewhere). There are, nonetheless, as recent excavation has shown (see below), Roman layers beneath the Arab. See the reports by M.-O. Rousset and S. Marchand: "Tebtynis 1998. Travaux dans le secteur nord," *Annales Islamologiques* 33 (1999) 185-262; "Secteur nord de Tebtynis (Fayyoun). Mission de 1999," *Annales Islamologiques* 34 (2000) 387-436; "Secteur nord de Tebtynis (Fayyoun). Mission de 2000," *Annales Islamologiques* 35 (2001) 409-64. That the village did shrink northwards is, in any case, clear.

<sup>44</sup> Discussed by Ian Begg in a paper, "The Churches of Tebtunis," delivered at the 53<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Baltimore, 26-28 April 2002. There were three churches, instead of four, if Bagnani's painted church is the same as Grenfell and Hunt's; but this seems unlikely. For the Bagnani churches, see now Peter Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section 1, vol. 62* (Leiden 2002) 423-7, with Abbildungen 45-7, apparently (423 n. 131) unaware of Walters' article (below, n. 46) on Grenfell and Hunt's painted church. See further below, n. 51.

<sup>45</sup> For the history of excavations at Tebtunis, see the excellent account of Claudio Gallazzi and G. Hadji Minaglou, "Fouilles anciennes et nouvelles sur le site de Tebtynis," *BIFAO* 89 (1989) 179-91, highly informative for the depredations of the fellahin, throughout but especially on the Arab strata (see below). See also Davoli 179-211.

<sup>46</sup> "Christian Paintings from Tebtunis," *JEA* 75 (1989) 191-208; not in Grossmann's (above, n. 44) bibliography.

dating to the mid-tenth century. Crucial was the notebook transcript of a Coptic inscription dating to 953.<sup>47</sup>

Walters could in 1989 speak of a monastic complex because three churches, one of them with associated buildings, had been uncovered in the course of Italian excavations conducted from 1929 to 1936;<sup>48</sup> two churches in 1931 (little time was apparently spent on these) and a third (the one with the well-known painting of Adam and Eve before and after the Fall) in 1933.<sup>49</sup> The last church with "its conventual annex" was to a large extent built with materials taken from the Graeco-Roman ruins. The excavation's field director,

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<sup>47</sup> Walters (preceding note) 205-8, assigning one of the paintings, however, to a bit later, the first half of the eleventh century. He also refers to the Arabic script on the painting of St. Theodore and another warrior-saint, concluding, "The forms of the letters would place them securely within the period AD 950-1050, and one might be tempted, given the evidence already adduced, to assign them to the earlier date." He alludes to evidence based on an artistic motif (the palmette) and the inexpert artistic style of the painting (like the painting of the Fall of Adam and Eve, also from Tebtunis but discovered in 1933, "dated variously to the tenth or eleventh centuries"). Of these last two arguments, the one based on the palmette, given the conservatism of artistic motifs and widely possible dates, is not very helpful. For a case in point, see Ulrike Horak, "Antike Mode auf Papyrus," *Atti Vol. I* 641-53, at 646: she considers a cluster of motifs on a fragmentary clavus (vol. III, Abb. XXXIc), previously dated to the ninth century, to be "etwas zu spät," proposing in its place a dating to the fifth-sixth century! The dating based on artistic style is circular.

<sup>48</sup> See references above, n. 45. The excavations were in behalf of the Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri in Egitto. See further, with many of Gilbert Bagnani's personal insights, Ian Begg, "It Was Wonderful, Our Return in the Darkness with . . . the Baskets of Papyri! Papyrus Finds at Tebtunis from the Bagnani Archives, 1931-1936," *BASP* 35 (1998) 185-210; *eund.*, "The Canadian Tebtunis Connection at Trent University," *Échos du Monde Classique* 42, n.s. 17 (1998) 385-405; *eund.*, "New Potential from Old Archives," *The Tebtunis Papyri: The First 100 Years*, <http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~tebtunis/ancientlives/begg.html>. Evidence (since increased, Begg, e-mail, 9 August 2002) for a season in 1936 is to be found in the Bagnani archives at Trent University: Begg, *BASP* 35 (1998) 209.

<sup>49</sup> Gilberto Bagnani, "Gli scavi di Tebtunis," *Bollettino d'Arte* 27 (1934) 119-34, with fig. 18; now on display in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. For supposed theological implications, see J. Jarry, "Reflexions sur la portée théologique d'une fresque d'Umm el-Baraqa (Tebtunis)," *BIFAO* 66 (1968) 139-42, refuted by J. Leroy, "La peinture murale chez les Coptes," *MIFAO* 94 (1975) at xvii n. 3 (*non vidi*).

Gilberto Bagnani, was inclined to see this church as dating from the fifth century, based on Coptic architectural remains (column capitals), and as part of a monastery that, based on dinars dating to the reign of Malik al-Kāmil (1218-38), survived to the fourteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

Bagnani's painted church and one of the churches excavated in 1931 have apparently been rediscovered by the Franco-Italian team that has been working at Tebtunis since 1988.<sup>51</sup> The expedition's

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<sup>50</sup> "Gli scavi di Tebtunis," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 1-13, at 8. The current whereabouts of the coins, discovered by sebakhīn, are unknown. Note that, although the coins had no archaeological context (there is no hint they were discovered in or near the church), Bagnani treated them as integral to the dating of the monastery and throws in an extra century for good measure. This contravenes the usual assumptions, as conveyed by earlier remarks in this article on the late coins of Soknopaiou Nesos and Karanis. As my colleague Jacqueline Long advises me (e-mail, 17 July 2002), "Coins (and other oddments) that turn up in archaeological sites not fitting into a context that implies regular habitation are typically assumed to be later intrusions. . . ." They are secluded "from the integral assessment of the site" and treated "as isolated objects." With respect to the villages mainly under discussion here, I find myself haunted by images of late "visitors" (joggers? campers? scavengers? squatters? brigands?) to deserted sites and wondering why they were so careless with their coins: did their purses have holes? I have myself visited a number of ancient sites, including Karanis and Tebtunis (but not Soknopaiou Nesos), without (so far as I know) dropping a single penny. Bagnani, in the article cited here (see also "Gli scavi," preceding note, 133-4, using Abū Sālih's detailed description of the monastery at Qalamūn), also argued that the Tebtunis monastery was identical with the storied and long-lived monastery of Samuel of Qalamūn—but this is impossible, given the testimony of Arabic authors, including al-Nābulṣī, according to whom (*TF* 22) the Qalamūn monastery was located in "the farthest of the districts [sc. of the Fayyūm] near al-Bahnasā." Other scholars (see Nabia Abbott, *The Monasteries of the Fayyūm* [Chicago 1937] 43-5) place the monastery in the Wādī Mawālīh, southwest of the Wādī Rayyān, not exactly "near" al-Bahnasā, but perhaps ever so vaguely in its general direction. For Bagnani's conclusions based on pottery, see "Scoperte di ceramiche in Egitto," *Faenza* 21 (1933) 99-102. Though admitting the difficulties in dating pottery precisely, he holds that the pottery fragments ("clinkers"), both those seen on the antiquities market in Cairo and those found in medieval potteries set up in the ruins of ancient Tebtunis, prove the monastery thrived perhaps between the tenth and fourteenth century, with the piece illustrated in this article (tav. XVIII) coming from the end of that period (it is not clear whether this piece is from the excavations or the antiquities market).

<sup>51</sup> See M.-O. Rousset and S. Marchand: "Secteur nord de Tebtynis (Fayyoun). Mission de 1999," *Annales Islamologiques* 34 (2000) 387-436. No plans were ever

main concerns seem to be the ancient temple complex and Roman-period houses, and the recovery of papyri, but attention has also been devoted to later strata. As the director has written: "Far more recent remains are . . . being revealed in the northern reaches of the *kom*, where buildings of Arabic date are being excavated. One belongs to the seventh or eighth century and was occupied until the end of the tenth century; an adjacent building is providing stratigraphy dating back to the ninth century, with an abundance of pottery of the Fatimid age, as well as papyri and papers with Arabic texts."<sup>52</sup> A slightly earlier, but specific look at the late site by Roland-Pierre Gayraud<sup>53</sup> mentions surface pottery and other finds of eighth-ninth century vintage, along with shards of the fifth-sixth century, establishing that there had probably been continuous habi-

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published by Bagnani but aerial photographs taken by the Egyptian Air Force in 1934 and 1936 (not 1935, correction by Ian Begg, e-mail, 9 August 2002) can be found in the Bagnani archives at Trent University. Additional archival materials (Carlo Anti's) are in Padua and these, though not referenced, contributed relevant information for the three churches (labeled A, B, and C, with plans for A and C) that are at the core of the article in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* on Umm el-Barakāt (vol. 7, 2289-91) by Peter Grossmann. See now, with specifics as to sources, Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur* (above, n. 44) 424 nn. 132 ("Der von uns abgebildete Grundriss (Abb. 47) dieser Kirche [sc. Church C] wurde am Hand von [sc. published] Photographien erstellt, von den beiden übrigen Kirchen A und B fand ich im Instituto di Archeologia der Universität Padova . . . wenigstens ein paar Aufnahmeskizzen und Photographien") and 133 ("Der in Abb. 45 wiedergegebene Grundrisse [sc. of Church A] wurde auf der Grundlage einer mir dankenswerterweise von Professor L. Pollacco (Universität Padova) zur Verfügung gestellten Aufnahmeskizze und mehrerer Photographien erstellt"). Traces of Church B, according to Grossmann (424), are still visible on site.

<sup>52</sup> Claudio Gallazzi, in a succinct account of the first five years' work: "Tebtunis: Piecing Together 3,000 Years of History," *Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1994) 27-9. Extensive bibliography on the French-Italian Mission (a cooperative enterprise of the University of Milan and the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale) down to 1997: Guido Bastianini, "L'Istituto di Papirologia dell'Università Statale di Milano," *Atti* Vol. I 105-9, esp. 108-9 n. 14. More recently: B. Mathieu, "Travaux de l'IFAO en 1999-2000," *BIFAO* 100 (2000) 517-21.

<sup>53</sup> Roland-Pierre Gayraud, "Tebtynis: Quelques notes sur la site islamique," in Christian Décobert (ed.), *Itinéraires d'Égypte: Mélanges offerts au père Maurice Martin, S.J.* (Cairo 1992) 31-44. Cf. Claudio Gallazzi, "Nuovi ritrovamenti di papi ed ostraka: il caso di Tebtynis," in Willy Clarysse and Herbert Verreth (eds.), *Papyrus Collections World Wide* (Leuven 2000) 101-6, at 102.



tation from the Byzantine into the Islamic period. In Gayraud's assessment, the village remained important into the eighth-ninth century; it was occupied until the end of the tenth, the eleventh, or even the beginning of the twelfth.

Here it is most convenient to accept the eleventh-century date and to assume that it was then that Tebtunis/Tutūn made a radical move northward, some five km., to its present-day location. Now a large and important village, in al-Nābulṣī's day, in the mid-thirteenth century, it was small (*TF* 86). Nevertheless, al-Nābulṣī knew of a large village named Tutūn (تطون) that had been abandoned, and he clearly viewed the small village of his own day as a continuation of the deserted village under the same name. It is tempting, with Sophia Björnesjö,<sup>54</sup> to associate the abandonment of Old Tutūn with the shift in location of the nearby village of Talīt four km. to the west—though Talīt's shift was not nearly as radical as Tutūn's. According to al-Nābulṣī (*TF* 18, 128), Talīt was a "new village with few inhabitants" rebuilt at the base of "the mountain" on which it had formerly been sited. The old village, "large and well-populated," had been abandoned "during the dearth of al-Mustansir" and buried by the sands. The "dearth" here refers to the famine, and associated plague, of "the dreadful years 1063-1072," "a turning-point in the demographic history of Egypt."<sup>55</sup> Al-Nābulṣī (*TF* 18, cf. 90) describes the relocations of other villages in similar terms—though without specific chronological associations with al-Mustansir's famine. Interestingly, a village named Tabā (طبي), appearing in an

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<sup>54</sup> Above, n. 38. The village Talit, about to be discussed, is most commonly known as Τάλει in Greek papyrus documents starting in 250 B.C.: Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* (above, n. 35) 343-4.

<sup>55</sup> "[D]readful years": S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, Vol. IV: *Daily Life* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1983) 25; "turning point": E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1976) 206-7. The Fayyūm throughout its history has been chronically susceptible to malaria, its symptoms quite severely afflicting the people of al-Nābulṣī's day in the mid-thirteenth century: W. Scheidel, *Death on the Nile* (above, n. 15), 75-91. To posit an outbreak in the late eleventh century would not, I suppose, be unreasonable. For the historical details it is still worth reading Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (repr. New York 1969) 136-54.

Arabic document dated to 1065 and located in the south Fayyūm, is identified by al-Nābulṣī (*TF* 17: طبا) as an abandoned village, but one that was not, like Tutūn and Talīt, rebuilt.<sup>56</sup> It is tempting to link its demise with those of Old Talīt and Old Tutūn and to see all three as figuring in a rash of abandonments of south Fayyūm villages in the late eleventh century.

But archaeological experience, specifically Dominic Rathbone's survey of this region suggests a more complicated picture, and, I think, the necessity of approaching the problem one village at a time. Rathbone sees various ancient villages in the south Fayyūm's Gharaq basin as having been abandoned in the fourth-fifth century, reoccupied (on a smaller scale) in the sixth-seventh century, then fully deserted. Sites to the east, in the Tutūn basin, based on the dating of vitreous-glazed wares, survived at least to the eighth, and possibly into the eleventh century. Although the evidence is far from satisfactory, it nonetheless "shows [in Rathbone's words] that the contraction between the Roman and mediaeval periods was not a one-phase general process, but the eventual result of a cumulation of local problems of different date, probably caused by cases of failure, for whatever reasons, to maintain particular canals."<sup>57</sup> Moreover, against the traditional belief in a general contraction of the Fayyūm in late antiquity, based on the demise of some of the Fayyūm's north-fringe villages, probably atypical of the Fayyūm at large, we should place the longer-term resilience of villages in the far south.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Khoury, *Chrestomathie* (above, n. 42) no. 75 with p. 135, note to line 3. Two fieldguards from Tabā reach agreement over pay for guarding land in the village of Ihrīt. The latter village is presumably "the devastated Ihrīt" in al-Nābulṣī's list of deserted villages along the Bahr Tanabtawayh (*TF* 17, and below, n. 59) rather than the mid-sized village of the same name two hours from Madīnat al-Fayyūm (*TF* 44-6). Tabā appears second in the list of twenty-one deserted villages, Ihrīt, fifth.

<sup>57</sup> Dominic Rathbone, "Surface Survey" (above n. 8) 17-8 (quote from 18).

<sup>58</sup> "Although the traditional view, based on some sites in the northern corner of the Faiyum, is that irrigation and settlement contracted in Late Antiquity, before the Arab conquest, the picture at Kom Talit, on the southern edge of the Faiyum, appears very different: the site was occupied from its apparent Ptolemaic foundation through to the eleventh century AD"—Christopher Kirby and Dominic Rathbone, "Kom Talit: The Rise and Fall of a Greek Town in the Faiyum," *Egypt-*

In fact, there are in al- Nābulṣī's *TF* many casual allusions to the decline and contraction of Fayyūm villages in the period before his survey.<sup>59</sup> But from time to time al-Nābulṣī also points to positive developments.<sup>60</sup> Most interesting is the case of Shāna (*TF* 122), a large village in the far eastern Fayyūm (and somewhat north) that was in fact two villages: Old Shāna, located at the tail end of the mountain in the Fayyūm's depression, and New Shāna, in the depression north of the old village. It seems that part of Old Shāna's population had migrated, not from want, but for opportunity: namely, to occupy the neglected lands of al-Lawāsī, a village on the Bahr Wardān, identified by al-Nābulṣī as having been abandoned (cf. *TF* 18) many years before his own time (*TF* 122).

An instance like this hints that the village topography of the Fayyūm was not static but shifting, and not always for the worse.<sup>61</sup> This should be a caution to those who see the late antique Fayyūm only in terms of simple decline. As for comparisons, there is no compelling need to look to medieval Europe: al-Nābulṣī provides evidence, so to speak, right at home. The links between the Greek papyri and his survey are provided by Coptic and Arabic documents and by archaeology. As I hope to have shown, these sources make a continuous history of the Fayyūm from antiquity to the Middle

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*tian Archaeology* 8 (1996) 29-31, at 31. For the prosperity of the east Fayyūm in late antiquity, see now Banaji, *Agrarian Change* (above, n. 6) 179.

<sup>59</sup> And not so casual, especially in his lists of deserted villages along two of the major canals, the Bahr Tanabtawayh (twenty-one villages in all) and the Bahr Wardān (ten), at the end of *TF* Chapter 6 (17-8). These suggest a generally shrunken Fayyūm from that of antiquity. Nevertheless, like Talīt, some of the deserted villages were rebuilt near their original locations, *TF* 17: Haddāda, Buljusūq, Umm al-Sibā', and Dumya (replaced by Bamūya)—all producing crops in al-Nābulṣī's day.

<sup>60</sup> E.g., a small village, an hour east of Madīnat al-Fayyūm, Damwat al-Dāthr (*TF* 100), had been rebuilt after it had fallen into oblivion. The people of another village, Fānū (*TF* 133), left their native village, two hours north of Madīnat al-Fayyūm, to be absorbed into the neighboring large village Naqalifa. Another settlement, Haysha Dumūshīyya (*TF* 172), two hours south of Madīnat al-Fayyūm, formerly a hamlet (*minshiya*) known as Minshāt Rabī' (*TF* 19), had grown to become a small village (*bulayda*). More generally: *TF* 18 (villagers of currently inhabited villages working the land of abandoned villages).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Pesez and Le Roy Ladurie (above, n. 2).

Ages not only possible, but worth pursuing.<sup>62</sup> On the human level, as Ian Begg has suggested to me, all this is probably yet another story about human adaptation to change for purposes of survival, whose protagonists, I would add, were people whose names we are unlikely ever to know.

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<sup>62</sup> Banaji, *Agrarian Change* (above, n. 6), esp. 176-80, 241-50 (= Appendix 3), is suggestive of what this work can be expected to accomplish.

## Compositional Patterns in *PGM* IV (= *P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl.* gr. no. 574)<sup>1</sup>

The magical formularies of *PGM* almost all date from late antiquity, but probably represent a long tradition, one which can sometimes be demonstrated through fragments of applied magic or in literary depictions of magical activity. Within the formularies themselves, this history is also sometimes to be glimpsed, through interesting patterns of content and manuscript layout. Analysis of these patterns might give us some sense of the exemplars from which the large formularies were copied, and the levels of transmission that they may reflect,<sup>2</sup> and through this it may be possible to learn more about the social, geographical, and temporal contexts in which this material is most usefully understood.

The question of context is of enormous importance for the interpretation of these materials and for understanding them within the overall category of religion in antiquity, and yet there is very little certainty with regard to fundamental points of orientation. Does the fact that these documents were made in the third and fourth centuries CE indicate broad interest in these activities at that particular time, or were they compiled for or by an individual or tiny group at that time for literary, scientific or antiquarian purposes? Does the fact that they come from Egypt mean that we should un-

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<sup>1</sup> Many thanks to Roger Bagnall, Timothy Renner, Rafaella Cribiore and all the other members of Roger Bagnall's Papyrology Seminar for help with early stages of this project. I also thank John Gager, Bob Kraft, and Ben Wright.

<sup>2</sup> For discussion of recension and levels of transmission in *PGM* XIII, see Morton Smith, "P.Leid. J 395 (*PGM* XIII) and Its Creation Legend," in A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel and J. Riaud (eds.), *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage À Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (Leuven-Paris 1986) 491-8; *eund.*, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew," *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples 1984) 683-93; William Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey," *ANRW* II. 18.5 (1995) 3380-684, with a discussion of textual history at 3412-9.

derstand them mainly in relation to the temple or priestly tradition of Egypt,<sup>3</sup> or do they reflect a particular witness to a pan-Mediterranean tradition?<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to approach either of these questions, because they work together like roads in Looking-Glass Land, where the traveler continually ends up back at the starting point: to flesh out a discussion of date, one would like to know more about the "community"; but to study the community, if any, we need to know where to look in space and in time.

In the approach to the question of historical context, work has been done in two main areas: 1) the point of departure, the dates and/or origins of particular spells, or of motifs and phrases within them; and 2) the point of arrival, the date and provenance of the surviving formularies themselves. The former area of investigation has demonstrated a broad variety of cultural sources for materials in *PGM*, and the great antiquity of some of their elements. However, to discover the origin of a thing does not always tell us what it meant to those who used it or discussed it hundreds of miles away, or hundreds of years later. Also, to trace a ritual or an element to a particular culture, for example Egyptian priestly culture, does not always help us understand what a thing might have meant to those from outside that culture who used it—even if they lived in the same town. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the ultimate origin of motifs and phrases, to begin tracking them from these points of origin to the points at which we see them in magical formularies.

Work upon the formularies themselves is generally focused upon Egypt of the fourth century CE, specifically upon the ritual world of Upper Egyptian temples. In this work, great importance is laid upon the fact that the larger formularies that survive for us

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<sup>3</sup> As in, e.g., David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998); Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago 1993); *id.*, "Egyptian Magical Practice Under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3333-79; Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton 1993<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> As in, most recently, Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge MA 1999) esp. 1-40; Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*, trans. Franklin Philip (Cambridge 1997) esp. 5-6 and general tendency throughout.

were bought or collected by a single individual, M. Anastasi, who himself was told that several of his manuscripts had been found together in a single tomb in Thebes.<sup>5</sup> That there is a relationship between at least two of Anastasi's manuscripts is indicated paleographically, the same scribe having written both.<sup>6</sup> Several scholars therefore argue that the formularies are thus to be interpreted with reference to each other, as components of an intentionally collected library, the existence of which is taken as an indication that such practices were prominent in fourth-century Thebes. These studies focus upon the point of arrival, the completed texts of the large formularies as they now stand.<sup>7</sup>

Between the points of departure and of arrival there is a long history of individual and cultural transmission of this material. How did the individual elements of *PGM* formularies make the journey from their original cultures, and in what forms did they travel? What is the textual pre-history of the surviving formularies?

It is clear from many features that at least some *PGM* formularies are composite in origin, and therefore may themselves represent libraries, or at least the deliberate collecting activity of a particular individual or group. These libraries may now appear as single books, just as the Biblical book we call "Minor Prophets" does—a small library of materials of related content that was even-

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<sup>5</sup> For full discussion of this collection and its history, see Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3398-412; *eund.*, "Magical Papyri: Magic in Bookform," in Peter Ganz (ed.), *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt* (Wiesbaden 1992), 25-34; also Fowden, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 168-76. Brashear is careful to distinguish between materials that are more or less firmly associated with each other, and those that simply derive from the same nineteenth-century collector. Morton Smith rejected the broad application of the Theban-grave story to *PGM* materials other than *PGM* V, XII, XIII and *PDM*; see his "Relations Between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie*. Pap.Brux. 18 (Brussels 1979) 133 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *PGM* XII (*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 384 (V)) and *PGM* XIV (*P.Lond.demot.* 10070 + *P.Lugd.Bat.* J 383); Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3402-3.

<sup>7</sup> For more detailed discussion of the Anastasi problem, see L. LiDonnici, "The Disappearing Magician: Literary and Practical Questions About the Greek Magical Papyri," in Benjamin G. Wright (ed.), *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (Atlanta 1999), 227-43.

tually combined into a single object. As its name suggests (βιβλία, "books"), the Bible itself was a library with a fairly open-ended catalog for a great deal of its history. Each individual formulary represents a collection of sources that some individual or group determined to copy for itself, either for use or for reference. This paper investigates what evidence there is for the forms of the documents that came to be included in these new one-volume "libraries," and what can be learned from the ways in which they were combined and passed down. In order to pursue this question, it is important to consider 1) the thematic and linguistic patterns of the content of text-blocks; and 2) the patterns of writing of the surviving manuscripts themselves, which may suggest shapes or conditions of the exemplars from which they were copied.

*PGM IV*, the so-called "Great Magical Papyrus of Paris," is a fourth-century codex of more than 3200 lines that contains a wide variety of materials. The manuscript also has blocks of repeated text that also appear in other sources, and several large areas of blank space. These features make *PGM IV* ideal for thematic and linguistic analysis and for pursuit of the question of context, sources, and compositional history. Consideration of *PGM IV* in terms of the three criteria described above immediately suggests a long compositional process for this text. There are several discrete thematic blocks and many unusual textual and manuscript features that are difficult to understand in any other way.

Many scholars have commented on the composite nature of this text,<sup>8</sup> and several have remarked on the fact that, while the manuscript itself dates from the fourth century (probably early fourth century),<sup>9</sup> some of the material it contains appears to be second century<sup>10</sup> and to be arranged in some kind of thematic order. Patterns

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<sup>8</sup> E.g., Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3415-6.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., A.D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929) 219-35, reprinted in Zeph Stewart (ed.), *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World I* (Oxford 1972) 176-94, esp. 179, 183-4; Bruno Kuster, *De tribus carminibus papyri Parisinae magicae* (Königsberg 1911) 11-4; Marvin W. Meyer, *The Mithras Liturgy* (Missoula, MO 1976) vii.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Bruno Kuster, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 12. Many scholars cite Kuster, who argued that the present *PGM IV* was copied from a damaged second century exemplar, but I have not encountered any more modern specific discussion of what



of thematic organization were noted by both Morton Smith<sup>11</sup> and Arthur Darby Nock,<sup>12</sup> but without discussion of the state of the precursor (or precursors) to *PGM IV*. Was the codex compiled from loose materials sorted (badly) at the time of copying, or did older, smaller compilations exist that have been transferred into the current document? While the idea of multiple loose spells may be the best explanation for the material at the end of *PGM IV*,<sup>13</sup> it leaves many other features unexplained, especially where we have categories that appear more than once throughout the manuscript. These features can best be explained by the use of other, pre-existing smaller formularies, sometimes themselves already thematically organized, to compile *PGM IV* or its immediate predecessor.

This study examines thematic and papyrological features of the manuscript, which both converge with and deviate from each other in ways often suggestive of such pre-existing sub-formularies. As will be seen below, for some groups the indications of this are strong, and more than one level of copying or transmission can be seen. Of particular interest is the repeated occurrence of a pattern in which a group of more or less thematically linked spells is followed by two or three much smaller spells, either for an entirely different purpose or in a very different style; followed in turn by a group of long, thematically linked spells. This pattern sometimes occurs in ways that are very suggestive of a small scroll's owner

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is second-century about these materials. Some spells do appear to have very old roots (see discussion of lines 286-95 below), but this is by no means true for all of them. For one case, see Eugene N. Lane, "On the Date of *PGM IV*," *The Second Century* 4:1 (1984) 25-7. Lane's suggestion is based on a scribal error at line 2664, which he associates with Rome in the period 374-390 CE, so it is a manuscript feature and not an actual spell for which the date is suggested. Brashear said it had "the character of a text composed two hundred years earlier;" *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3419.

<sup>11</sup> Morton Smith, "The Hymn to the Moon, *PGM IV* 2242-2355," *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology*. Am.Stud.Pap. 23 (Chico 1981) 643-54, esp. 643-4.

<sup>12</sup> Nock, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 179.

<sup>13</sup> This itself may be an example of blank pages at the end of a manuscript filling up with miscellaneous material. As discussed below, however, this would apply to the exemplar for *PGM IV*, since the current manuscript is in a uniform hand, except for the Coptic material at the beginning.

writing in fresh material on the blank space left at the end (or on the verso) of his original scroll, all of which is then recopied, in order, into a larger document and followed by the copying of another small formulary, which relates to the main matter of the previous text (now a "block") but not to the lines of its immediate predecessor, the add-ons.

### Physical Features of *PGM IV*

*PGM IV* (*P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl. gr. no. 574*), is a papyrus codex with a long and narrow shape, Turner's Aberrant Type 1, Group 8.<sup>14</sup> It consists of a single quire,<sup>15</sup> made up of large sheets of papyrus folded in half. It is clear from at least three leaves that the quire was folded all at once and the writing was either done before the folding and cutting, or with careful reference to keeping the pages in order. This is not clear in every case but certainly, as Preisendanz noted, in the case of 6 recto-verso and 31 recto-verso, where the extreme right edge of the magical figure of 6 verso appears in the extreme right margin of 31 recto.<sup>16</sup> Also, there are dark bands running across the upper portions of 2 verso and 35 recto, and of 18 recto and 19 verso, by which each of these pairs is shown to be a continuous "face" of a single sheet of papyrus. This all-at-once folding is also suggested by the pattern of fibers, which is, horizontal on the rectos and vertical on the versos for the first half of the manuscript, and (where I can tell), vertical on the rectos and horizontal on the versos for the second half, as would happen if large sheets were folded, and then kept in order. The pages are not all exactly the same size. Preisendanz gives measurements of height ranging between 30.5 and 27 cm., and of width ranging between 13 and 9.5 cm.<sup>17</sup> *Kollesis* is usually ignored, but is used as the right margin of

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<sup>14</sup> Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 21.

<sup>15</sup> Preisendanz, *PGM I*, 64; Turner, *op.cit.* 58.

<sup>16</sup> Preisendanz, *PGM I*, 64.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

19 verso and perhaps as the left margin of 3 recto.<sup>18</sup> The text uses two kinds of *paragraphoi* to highlight important points, although not every spell is marked. The marks are not used absolutely consistently, but in general it seems<sup>19</sup> that a forked paragraphos (*diple obelismene*) more often indicates the beginning of a new spell, and a horizontal bar more often indicates a division within a particular spell, e.g., a dismissal, a phylactery, or a variation.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that the very "top" of the sideways-written magical figure of 6 verso is visible on 31 recto would appear to suggest that this one leaf at least was written out before the pages overall were folded and/or cut, as Preisendanz noted.<sup>21</sup> However, the spell in which the figure occurs (ll. 296-466)<sup>22</sup> begins on 5 recto and continues onto 7 recto, and the material on 31 recto is the middle portion of a very long invocation (ll. 2785-890) that began on 30 verso. In other words, page 6/31 is not a free-standing, self-contained sheet that could be folded and inserted anywhere and still make sense; the material is continuous with that from surrounding pages.<sup>23</sup> In addition to this, the average number of characters per line clearly decreases as one approaches the center of the present codex (see chart 1 below), suggesting that an experienced scribe understood

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<sup>18</sup> On some pages, there is avoidance of what looks like a papyrus flaw or a thick *kollesis*; this occurs on faces with vertical fibers, and so creates the effect of false columns. This is noticeable on 14 verso, 15 verso, 18 verso (this one may be a *kollesis*), 19 recto (the other side of 18 v); and 21 recto. There can be more than one division on a page, as on the bottom of 14 verso where two vertical gaps divide the text roughly into thirds. I think that papyrus flaws are the most likely explanation for this pattern.

<sup>19</sup> The manuscript leaves, when photographed, were in some sort of frames that make it impossible to see the margins on some of the versos; therefore one cannot always tell which *paragraphos* is being used, or anything else that may be going on in the margins (though the rectos show no marginal notes).

<sup>20</sup> Despite this, no published material that I have been able to find discusses the hand; Preisendanz does note the Coptic names on 1 verso, which were probably added later; *PGM*, vol. 1, p. 64.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> For an overall spell, I use the very helpful content divisions introduced in H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*. Vol. 1. *Texts* (Chicago 1986<sup>2</sup>), later cited as *GMP*.

<sup>23</sup> A new spell does, however, begin on 32 recto.

that in a single quire codex, the middle of the book would end up with narrower pages once the sheets were folded and trimmed to a uniform width, and planned for this.<sup>24</sup> The indications thus seem to be clear that the present codex was carefully planned, laid out and written in mirror-image pairs of leaves that, when folded and cut, formed the present order of material in *PGM* IV. This is summarized in the following chart:<sup>25</sup>

**Chart 1**

<b>Original Sheet:</b>	<b>Average letters per line:</b>			
1r/v - 36v/r	na	na	na	na
2r/v - 35v/r	na	na	29	32
3r/v - 34v/r	37	na	34	31
4r/v - 33v/r	39	39	28	34
5r/v - 32v/r	37	35	34	30
6r/v - 31v/r	na	na	24	23
7r/v - 30v/r	na	29	25	23
8r/v - 29v/r	31	34	25	28
9r/v - 28v/r	35	33	27	31
10r/v - 27v/r	33	30	29	24
11r/v - 26v/r	27	30	29	26
12r/v - 26v/r	33	33	26	28
13r/v - 24v/r	30	30	31	28
14r/v - 23v/r	30	26	32	26
15r/v - 22v/r	34	26	28	19
16r/v - 21v/r	na	na	19	20
17r/v - 20v/r	24	25	20	21
18r/v - 19v/r	22	22	20	20

<sup>24</sup> This phenomenon, according to Turner, is common and to be expected; *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 73-4.

<sup>25</sup> In this chart, the average characters per line have been estimated only for pages that are completely in Greek, and considering only lines that are full. Pages in multiple languages are excluded and marked "na." 7 recto is completely in Greek, but it is excluded here because its top portion, the hexametric Hymn to Helios (lines 435-66) is written in a much more compressed form (@ 56 characters per line) than the bottom half of the page, lines 467-88 (@ 35 characters per line). In addition, with a few exceptions, for all leaves, the pages that form the first half of the codex have a larger average number of characters per line than the second half.

From this pattern alone, it seems likely that the present *PGM* was understood in its entirety at the outset of copying, because the scribe seems to have known how many leaves it would involve, which ones would be in the center, and how the text would lie on the pages, in order to be able to design and construct one of these original 4-page sheets of discontinuous text with the appropriate line lengths for the edges or the middle of the codex. Direct, first-time compilation from loose materials seems clearly excluded.

The manuscript is not completely continuous from beginning to end, having several blanks of varying size.<sup>26</sup> Some of these, such as 1/36 recto-verso, may have been designed to be blank, representing some sort of protective "covers" for the overall manuscript.<sup>27</sup> In two cases, blanks may have been left for the later insertion of a magical drawing which was never put in.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note that the large sideways amulet of 6 verso was in fact included. This was therefore probably the task of the same scribe or kind of scribe who

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<sup>26</sup> The most notable skips are on 1 recto (completely blank), 3 recto, 6 recto, 14 verso, 15 verso (tiny but suggestive), 16 recto-verso (completely blank); 21 verso, 23 verso, 26 verso, and 36 recto-verso (completely blank).

<sup>27</sup> Excluding the 4 lines on 1 verso; see n. 18 above.

<sup>28</sup> The first case is on 14 verso, between lines 1264-5, between a Greek and Coptic spell for exorcism and "Aphrodite's Secret Name," a spell with little thematic relationship to its neighbors. Interestingly, lines 1245-64 and 1275-88 are written with the same orientation, separated by a substantial blank space and lines 1265-74 ("Aphrodite's Secret Name"), which appear to be written by the same or a similar hand, but with a very slightly different orientation. It is possible that "Aphrodite's Secret Name" became available to the scribe at a later time, and were inserted into a convenient blank area, possibly after the leaves were folded, cut or sewn, causing a different writing posture and the resulting slight shift in orientation; if so, the blank area originally left, perhaps for a drawing, was originally larger than it is now. The exorcistic spell ends with a description of an amulet with a specific sign, well known from other gems; references from Meyer in Betz, *GMP*, p. 62 with n. 170. The intention may have been to use the blank space to draw the sort of figures also seen on those gems. The second of these blanks, on 21 verso, follows the lengthy "Sword of Dardanos" (lines 1716-870) which describes an amulet engraved with Aphrodite riding Psyche and various other figures, and which concludes by manipulation of a figure described shortly before this blank; see below. The third case is the large skip of 23 verso, in the middle of a long spell ("Pitys' Spell of Attraction," lines 2006-125) but preceded and followed by discussion of images that are to be revealed and drawn.

could copy a text manuscript, but not a magical drawing.<sup>29</sup> There is a long tradition in Egyptian scribal practices of different individuals completing various portions of a particular roll in accordance with their abilities, training and equipment. Magical drawings in general in *PGM* formularies are extremely varied in quality; those in the deluxe *PGM* III (P.Louvre inv. 2391) are beautiful enough to suggest a skilled, artistic scribe; while those of many others, e.g., *PGM* XXXVI (*P.Osl.* I 1) are childlike and crude.<sup>30</sup> In the latter examples, possibly "writing scribes" have gone ahead and tried to copy the drawings, implying possibly a more low-end copying job. Some of the blanks of *PGM* IV, if left for drawings, might suggest an original intention for this manuscript to be fancier, more professional.<sup>31</sup> Other than the figure on 6 verso and a second occasion of magical characters on 30 recto (lines 2706-07), the manuscript is devoid of drawings. As will be discussed below, these blanks are significant not only because they do not reflect normal scribal practice (leaving blanks for no reason), but also because each of them corresponds to a suggestive break in the thematic flow of the text itself.

One of the larger blanks, 16 recto-verso, very likely has a codicological explanation. As Turner noted, the only way to add space to the latter half of a single quire codex is to add another leaf, which would leave a blank page at the corresponding spot in the first half of the manuscript.<sup>32</sup> An alert scribe who began to feel that he was going to need more space, could have noticed that 15 verso is the end of a spell,<sup>33</sup> and 17 recto is the beginning of one, making this an ideal location for the insertion of a blank page. The material of 21 r/v (the other side of 16 r/v) is completely continuous with its sur-

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<sup>29</sup> The figure on 6 verso also creates a blank on 6 recto, between the explanation of the figure and its representation; like the two discussed above, this is a rational and explicable blank, since the large figure could not be broken up.

<sup>30</sup> See William Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4).

<sup>31</sup> This impression is confirmed by a variety of other features, discussed below.

<sup>32</sup> Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 73.

<sup>33</sup> And the scribe had also left a little bit of space to note this at the bottom of 15v: it has 48 lines of text, as opposed to 53 on 15 r. The average number of lines per page for pages without blanks is 52.2.

rounding leaves. It is not a free-standing insertion. Therefore, the scribe would have noticed this when he was scarcely more than halfway through his copying, because 18/19 is the present center of the codex. This may also be the explanation for the fact that the first two spells of the next block each occupies an entire leaf, 17 recto-verso and 18 recto-verso; that this was a deliberate choice is indicated by the fact that the second of the two, the invocation to myrrh (1496-595) which is slightly shorter than the first, is written in expanded form on 18 verso, in order to bring it down to the bottom of the page. To simplify, 16 r/v, 17 r/v, and 18 r/v are disconnected from their surroundings, while their other sides, 21 r/v, 20 r/v, and 19 r/v are in fact part of a more or less continuous stream of writing. However, while 16/21 does appear to have been added to create extra space in the codex, I do not believe that this is also the case for 17/20 or 18/19. Matters are complicated by these being the very leaves on which the reduced average number of characters per line, noted in the chart above, is most noticeable. The question remains whether this event of needing more space occurred during the construction of the present *PGM* IV, or its predecessor. As noted earlier, the distribution of text across pages for the present *PGM* IV seems carefully planned.

### **Block 1: 1-153**

Many discussions of the prehistory of *PGM* IV center around this first and most clear-cut block of text.<sup>34</sup> Block I of *PGM* IV is characterized by several features that suggest that its spells were already a discrete document, possibly with a small pre-history of its own, at the time it was copied into the larger formulary in which it is now found. This block contains 4 basic "spells" in Greek and Coptic: a long initiation with two versions of its *praxis* (5-85), a short phylactery (86-7), a short boy-divination (88-93), and a long erotic spell (94-153). These four spells appear on two leaves of the papyrus codex: 2 r/v, and 3 recto. The text on 3 recto ends with a forked

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<sup>34</sup> See Marvin W. Meyer, "The Love Spell of *PGM* IV.94-153: Introduction and Structure," in *Acts of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Coptic Studies. Rome, 22-26 September, 1980* (Rome 1980) 193-201.

*paragraphos* and a much larger than usual lower margin, approximately one-third of the writing surface of the page. 3 verso is blank, and a new series of spells (Block 2) begins again at the top of 4 recto. The spells are preceded by four lines at the top of 1 verso, consisting of magical names using Coptic letters, and Greek epithets. Further magical names in Coptic letters appear at the beginning of this block at the top of 2 recto, but it seems that they do not form part of the invocation that begins there with ΔΩΟΥ, and that the 4 lines on 1 verso were written onto the available blank sheet at some later time, perhaps because of their similarity to the material of 2 recto. If this is so, then this formulary began with a completely blank leaf; since it also ends with a blank page, these perhaps represent covers, as noted above. However, whether or not these are covers, it is clear that a deliberate separation is being left between this material and what begins at the top of 4 recto. A preference for beginning this new block on a recto may suggest the preservation of a separate text or exemplar at some stage of redaction. Such a preference may also explain other manuscript features, discussed below.

### **Block 2: 154-1389**

This block of text is extremely varied in content, and the doublings and repetitions within it suggest that it was already a significant formulary when copied into the current *PGM* IV, and that it itself had a prehistory of internal organization and of accretion of material and variant readings.

A very long block from 154-1389 is suggested by manuscript features. The block is preceded by the blank page 3 verso, and followed by the blank leaf 16 recto/verso. Within these pages the text is written straight through with no inexplicable blanks, except at the bottom of 6 recto, which may be necessitated simply by the large size and sideways layout of 6 verso, the "heart"<sup>35</sup> shaped palindromic figure. The very bottom of 15 verso, where the block ends,

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<sup>35</sup> Line 408 of the manuscript refers to the figure as τὴν καρδίαν.



is slightly expanded and a small bit of blank space has been left,<sup>36</sup> followed by the entirely blank 16 r/v. That a text block or exemplar begins with line 154 and ends with line 1389 is therefore strongly indicated by manuscript features. However, the contents of this block and its internal groupings and repetitions strongly suggest that it was also created from a library of numerous smaller texts. These smaller blocks are indicated by thematic and content features, and break down roughly to: 1) 154-466; 2) 467-849; 3) 850-1226; and 4) 1227-1389. These smaller blocks also present interesting features of internal structure that may derive from their *own* exemplars.

### **Block 2 section A: 154-466**

In this block, we find a relatively elaborate bowl divination (154-285) framed in a letter "from Nephotes to Psammetichos," and an extremely elaborate erotic binding spell (296-466) separated by a simple spell for the picking of plants for rituals (286-95). The first point to be noted is that the two major spells of this block are not in fact particularly dependent upon plants for their rituals, and in neither case is ritual preparation of any plant demanded. The bowl divination of "Nephotes" requires that the practitioner *στεψάμενος κικκῶ μέλανι*, "having crowned [himself] with dark ivy;" (172-3) and this is the only recipe ingredient that needed to be picked.<sup>37</sup> The erotic spell requires *τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ ἄνθη*, "seasonal flowers," (334) which may in fact have needed to be gathered by the practitioner, but if so, this is not mentioned in the text. The flowers are laid upon the grave of an untimely dead person, along with the lead lamella.<sup>38</sup> It is not clear whether they are intended as an effective or compul-

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<sup>36</sup> The page has only 48 lines; as noted earlier, the average for pages without skips is 52.2 lines. It is not a huge skip; the increase in letter size and spacing is much more noticeable.

<sup>37</sup> The other ingredients are: incense (a market-place item), various kinds of water, olive oil, silver lamella, bronze stylus, and ass-hide.

<sup>38</sup> The other ingredients are: wax or clay, "magical material" from the victim, copper needles, lead lamella, and thread from a loom.

sive ritual element (as the lamella clearly is), or as a simple gift for the spirit that is being used to address the underworld powers.

The main interest in lines 286-95 is in the formula with which the plant picking spell concludes: τελέσατε<sup>39</sup> μοι τὴν τελείαν ἐπαοιδὴν (l. 294). This line is the end of a frequently occurring formula that appears again later in line 293<sup>40</sup> and is also found in at least six other magical texts.<sup>41</sup> Of these, two<sup>42</sup> are dated as early as the first century BCE; two further fragments are also very early.<sup>43</sup> The formula also appears in *PGM* VII, third and/or fourth century; twice in *PGM* IV, fourth century, and in *Suppl. Mag.* 45, dated to the fifth century CE<sup>44</sup>—this last is extremely precious, as it is a used text, found with embracing wax figures.<sup>45</sup> This phrase is also used in literary depictions, several in the Hellenistic period, where traditional magical practices are being represented.<sup>46</sup> The formula thus would appear to be a consistent element of magical prayer that is attested, in varying forms, over a very long period of time. It appears most often in erotic spells,<sup>47</sup> and it may be significant that here in *PGM* IV it is immediately followed by the huge erotic spell

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<sup>39</sup> The formula is most often addressed to a deity and expressed in the singular; here the practitioner is addressing the plural holy names just uttered, conceived as independent powers, as also in R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*. Pap.Colon. 16.1-2 (Opladen 1990, 1992) no. 45, line 53 (henceforth cited as *Suppl. Mag.*).

<sup>40</sup> The form there is *cù dé Κυπρογένεια θεά, τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν*.

<sup>41</sup> *PGM* VII 992; XX 4, 19; *Suppl. Mag.* no. 45 (= Betz, *GMP* CI), line 53; no. 71, fr. 2, fr. 21; no. 72, lines 13-4, 27, 36, 52; no. 73, col. ii, 18 (very fragmentary).

<sup>42</sup> *PGM* XX (the "Philinna Papyrus"); *Suppl. Mag.* 71 = *P. Monac.* II 28 = Betz, *GMP* CXVII, both dated to the first century BCE.

<sup>43</sup> These two fragments range from the first century BCE through perhaps the early second century CE: *Suppl. Mag.* 72 = P. Berol. inv. 21243 = Betz, *GMP* CXXII; *Suppl. Mag.* 73 = *P. Athen.* 70 = Betz, *GMP* CIII. Discussion of dating and essential commentary on all of these fragments in *Suppl. Mag.* I, pp. 95-131.

<sup>44</sup> *Suppl. Mag.* 45 = P. Köln inv. 3323, pp. 162-73.

<sup>45</sup> Figure 14 in John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York 1992) 102. The text itself is no. 30 in that volume, pp. 101-06.

<sup>46</sup> Faraone, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4) 64; 74; 78; 139; 142-3.

<sup>47</sup> Only this instance and *PGM* XX, spells against headache, are not erotic.

296-466, variations of which also appear on a variety of tablets and formulary fragments, as David Martinez has demonstrated.<sup>48</sup> Possibly at some stage, this phrase was not part of the plant picking spell, but was noted at the beginning of the erotic spell as another formula useful for that purpose. If this notation were closer to the plant picking spell, a scribe may well have incorporated it there during some episode of recopying. Perhaps this is an explanation of the confusing change to the plural for this phrase.<sup>49</sup>

Both of the longer spells of the block involve the preparation of metal lamellae, and they may already have been combined for thematic reasons before their copying into *PGM* IV. Such a pre-combination would also help explain the location of 286-95 as an addendum at some stage. A short roll with one really good divination and one really good erotic binding spell might have been a desirable item in many households.<sup>50</sup> Consideration of *PGM* overall suggests that the major goals of practitioners were revelation and seduction, and unless one were a "professional magician" (a problematic category),<sup>51</sup> these would be sufficient for practical and personal use. Of course, if formularies were compiled for antiquarian purposes, there is no basis for thinking that given individuals desired both revelation and seduction, but that there were individuals in pursuit of each, whose texts are now in magical handbooks together. From the perspective of thematic and compositional patterns, it is not so much that these longer spells belong together, as that they do not belong with either 1-153, or with 467-829.

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<sup>48</sup> David G. Martinez, *P.Mich. 757: A Greek Love Charm From Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. 30 (Atlanta 1991). In fact, Martinez often refers to *Suppl.Mag.* 45 (called by him *W<sub>4</sub>*), although he does not appear to discuss the phrase in question.

<sup>49</sup> O'Neil, in Betz, *GMP* 44 n. 65 suggests that suddenly the *voces magicae* themselves are being invoked; Preisendanz understands it to refer to δαίμονες, understood.

<sup>50</sup> This is what *PGM* VIII is, according to its *lemmata*; but the supposed erotic spell of 1-63 is actually a good business spell. Various small rolls represent different tastes and needs—compare, for example, the compact and useful (and elegant) *PGM* II, two spells, both divinatory; and the short and poignant *PGM* LXV, one spell against migraine and another against pregnancy, copied onto the verso of a household recipe text (Preisendanz dates text to the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>51</sup> See n. 7 above.

**Block 2 section B: 467-849**

This block consists of three repetitions of lines of Homer that are used for beneficial purposes (467-74; 820-24; 830-34), a very long and elaborate visionary initiation often referred to as "The Mithras-Liturgy" (475-830 or 834)<sup>52</sup> and a fragmentary horoscope (835-49). The Homer phylacteries begin the block and are then repeated twice<sup>53</sup> at the end of the initiation, and at least the first of these two repetitions (817-24) appear to have been directly linked to the initiation itself,<sup>54</sup> and to have been part of its *praxis*, at least at some stage of its development. Marvin Meyer noted a consistency of punctuation throughout lines 475-834,<sup>55</sup> which would tend to support the idea of at least one real redaction of the initiation with the second two Homer sections already included.

Whether or not the initiation is an actual liturgy from the worship of Mithras, it certainly does name him and describe his iconography. The initiation itself is preceded by a brief invocation including a parenthetical instruction to a daughter, regarding juices that are needed for the ritual. This parenthetical instruction has itself suggested several levels of transmission between *PGM IV* and whatever can be considered "the original" of this text, especially because the initiation itself uses masculine rather than feminine pronouns; as noted by Morton Smith, the "daughter" is thus being sent by a previously existing text, not a fresh composition by the "father."<sup>56</sup> The problem of the relationship between the Homeric

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<sup>52</sup> Voluminous references by Marvin Meyer in Betz, *GMP*, 48-54 and in *The Mithras Liturgy* (above, n. 9). I eagerly await the forthcoming volume by Hans Dieter Betz, *The "Mithras Liturgy": Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum / Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 18 (Tübingen 2003), and I thank the anonymous reader for alerting me to it.

<sup>53</sup> I separate the Homer lines at the end of the initiation (821-34) into two separate blocks, 821-9 and 830-4, because of the fact that *Iliad* 8.424 appears twice there (824 and 832).

<sup>54</sup> The second occurrence of this little Homer-block.

<sup>55</sup> Marvin Meyer, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) vii.

<sup>56</sup> Morton Smith suggested at least three levels in "Transformation By Burial," *Eranos-Yearbook* 52 (1983) 109 and more directly in 109 n. 40.

verses and this initiation is a difficult one, further complicated by the fourth appearance of some of these verses in PGM IV 2145-51. For the purpose of the thematic discussion, I am going to consider all four of these sections together, and return later to the compositional discussion of the first three sections only.

The three Homeric sections in this block, and the fourth one later on (2145-50), utilize a total of six lines, all from the *Iliad*, although only the first section includes them all.<sup>57</sup> In two blocks, specific *lemmata* are attached to two individual lines; and in one case a general *lemma* is attached to a set of three lines,<sup>58</sup> which is then followed by a long discussion of the specific powers of the lines in various situations. The single lines with specific *lemmata* are:

PGM IV 467-8 and 831-2 (*Iliad* 8.424):

θυμοκάτοχον

τολήμεις Διὸς ἅντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀεῖραι;

PGM IV 469-70 and 833-4 (*Iliad* 10.193):

πρὸς φίλους

αἰρείτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν

These two lines appear twice in the same order and with the same *lemmata*. *Iliad* 8.424 also appears a third time by itself at PGM IV 824, without *lemma*. Material concerned with the goals of gaining friends<sup>59</sup> and averting anger appears frequently in the PGM corpus,<sup>60</sup> and many of these examples are also phylacteries. The "solo appearance" of *Iliad* 8.424 occurs in the context of written phylacteries, as is clear from the instructions that precede it, lines 812-20.

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<sup>57</sup> *Iliad* 5.385; 8.424; 10.193, 521, 564, 572.

<sup>58</sup> The lines are *Iliad* 10.564, 521, and 572.

<sup>59</sup> "Friends" in this context means alliances or good working relationships with persons of influence and/or higher status; "connections" is the modern term closest in meaning.

<sup>60</sup> For friends or favor: PGM VII 186-90, 215-18; XII 270-350, 397-400. Against anger: PGM VII 925-39, 940-68; X 24-35; XII 179-81; LXXIX 1-7; LXXX 1-5. For both purposes: PGM XXXVI 35-68, 161-77, 211-30.

The literary context<sup>61</sup> of *Iliad* 8.424 is what makes it appear to be useful for the restraint of anger. The mighty Athena, armed and in her chariot, is ready to take on Hector once and for all, but is deflected without apparent argument by a sternly-worded message from Zeus (delivered by Iris), that concludes with this line, which implies the entire set-up, speech, and aftermath, with Athena retreating to her couch on Olympos. It is, however, more difficult to understand the relationship between *Iliad* 10.193 and the gaining of friends or favor. In this line, Nestor praises the Greek sentries that he has found dutifully awake and on guard, and he basically urges them to keep up the good work. I think that the operative principle here may be "superiors pleased with their subordinates," but it is not clear why this particular line would be chosen as emblematic of this. Perhaps the unusual feature is that a great figure is also awake in the middle of the night, to see and appreciate that the work is being done.

Three lines are grouped into a unit that itself appears three times, the last of which is preceded by a general lemma and followed by a long discussion of what the lines can accomplish. The lines are:

*PGM IV 471-73, 821-23, 2146-51 (Iliad 10.564, 521, 572):*

ὥς εἰπὼν τάφοιο διήλασε μώνυχας ἵππους  
 ἄνδρας τ' ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέῃσι φονῇσι  
 αὐτοὶ δ' ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσῃ

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<sup>61</sup> Several examples from literature and medical literature of lines from Homer used as phylacteries and as ritual recitations over wounds and diseases were collected by R. Heim, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina* (Leipzig 1892) 496-520. In all of these cases, the content of the line, and often its literary context as well, relate directly to the problem at hand. In all of Heim's examples, then, the use of a line of Homer involves knowledge of the text of Homer; the lines are relevant because of the *story* and not, i.e., gematria, etc. Neither this nor any of the other five lines exhibits any unusual features that would make them of interest to practitioners for other reasons: they are not lines that, e.g., contain all the letters of the Greek alphabet, yield a particular pattern of vowels, or contain any kind of numerological significance, at least that I have been able to discover through a wearisome series of calculations, all with negative result. It should be noted that none of the examples compiled by Heim from outside *PGM* use the particular lines under discussion here. Heim does not discuss the Homer oracle of *PGM VII* 1-48 or the Homer medical cures/phylacteries of *PGM XXIIa* 1-17.

In all three places, the lines are in the same order, which is out of narrative sequence. They are from an episode in the latter portion of *Iliad* 10, in which Odysseus and Diomedes slaughter some Thracians and their king, steal their horses, and then go swimming (and offer sacrifice to Athena). It is in no way a heroic battle, as the Thracians are apparently killed in their sleep. Although many verses depict greater courage and mightier strength, the benefit of these verses for the ordinary person in hope of success may be exactly that they do *not* require courage or strength, but rather depict easy victory over a powerless opponent, which is achieved through stealth and the possession of inside information (in the *Iliad*, acquired from Dolon).<sup>62</sup> As with the verses above, however, this "message" is contained in the overall context of the lines, which is implied.

At the third occurrence of this group, they are preceded by a general *lemma* (line 2145): τριτίχρος Ὀμήρου παρέδρος. This *lemma* stresses that the lines "work" as a group of three, and the long description that follows refers repeatedly to plural "lines." The *lemma* also tells us the purpose of the group, "[magical] assistance." There is much elaboration on the extraordinary usefulness of the lines, and for almost all of these goals, the lines are to be inscribed upon a lamella and either simply worn or manipulated in some way. The list of applications begins with runaway slaves who will not be caught, and continues through dozens of different benefits, with more or less specific instructions for the use of the verses and/or lamella. Now, I do not want to make too much of this list, because there is some kind of textual problem there, with the Homer applications somehow being merged with an apparently different consecration ceremony for lamellae of other types,<sup>63</sup> and it is not clear that these applications belong to the Homeric section at all. But it is important that these Homeric verses have at some point been

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<sup>62</sup> In analysis of a very different problem, Jonathan Z. Smith suggested that religious approaches to a critical problem sometimes represent an ideal situation, in which the opponent is tied up, friendly and tame or otherwise incapacitated; "The Bare Facts of Ritual," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago 1982) 53-65.

<sup>63</sup> At 2190-2240, where the lamellae are clearly different, being inscribed with magical names or words.

collected by someone with an interest in lamellae, and combined with other texts about them.<sup>64</sup>

The last of the six lines appears only twice, both times without lemma and associated with different lines:

*PGM IV 474, 830 (Iliad 5.385):*

τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης, ὅτε μιν ὦτος κρατερός τ' Ἐπιάλτης

The first occurrence of the line comes after the group of three discussed above, but it is not an addition to them.<sup>65</sup> The manuscript has a small *paragraphos* just above the beginning of 474; this *paragraphos* also occurs at line 830, and sets the line off from what precedes it. It should not therefore be understood under the *lemma* πρὸς φίλους at line 469. At line 830, the line precedes the two verses that appear with *lemmata*, and therefore clearly does not fall under πρὸς φίλους. In both places, the line appears without instructions or context and appears to be a miscellaneous add-on that came to mind—two separate times—when Homer phylacteries were being discussed.

In the absence of context or instructions, is it possible to determine why this line was included in these places, and what it might have been good for? Its literary context in *Iliad* 5 is the wounding of Aphrodite. She is being comforted by her mother, Dione, who tries to get her to bear up by enumerating instances of suffering of the gods at the hands of mortals. Two out of three examples also concern wounded gods, but this particular verse comes from an episode of bondage: Ares is chained in a cauldron for thirteen months before he is rescued by Hermes. Ares usually has a free and aggressive role in magical materials,<sup>66</sup> but this particular line would not be suggestive of that. The line might have been thought useful for endurance, but it is probably even more useful as a θυμοκάτοχον, a

<sup>64</sup> *PGM IV* 2146-51 is written with slightly larger characters than the main text, and with very large initial characters, which is why each verse has two lines in the text: the last word is carried over to a new line and centered. In the other two occurrences of the group, each verse fills one line.

<sup>65</sup> It does not reappear with the fourth group of Homer at lines 2145 ff.

<sup>66</sup> For example, in the preceding spell *IV* 296-466, where he appears as a threatening figurine in combination with a figure of the intended victim, a pierced and bound female figurine.



spell for the restraint of anger directed toward the practitioner, usually by superiors. What better to remember than the god of war helpless and in chains?<sup>67</sup> If the verse was for restraint of anger, this might explain its appearance at line 830, immediately preceding the *lemma* θυμοκάτοχον that introduces *Iliad* 8.424, discussed above. At some point in transmission, an individual with the two lemmatized phylacteries learned of another θυμοκάτοχον, and wrote it in *ad loc.* It precedes the *lemma* because either 1) there was space before it, therefore the *lemma* might have been at the top of a sheet or column; or 2) the new θυμοκάτοχον may have been written in a side margin, and later transferred to its present position before the *lemma* at some stage of copying. It is possible that this was done at the time of the making of PGM IV, and that this is the reason for the small horizontal stroke at the beginning of 474.

The first occurrence of the lines, at 467-74, was probably the last to be added to the text we now see. As noted above, the second two blocks were probably already associated with the phylacteries for the rite at a relatively early stage. If this is the case, then some individual who had already read the initiation and knew that these Homeric verses played a role, may have run across another version of these Homeric phylacteries, which he or she then copied back onto the text, inserting them at the beginning rather than the end. This would suggest blank space left at the beginning of this earlier document, to make this possible. It is strange that the "new version," in this scenario lines 467-74, would not have been copied onto blank space at the *end* of the manuscript, close to the other two Homer blocks 821-34. That there was blank space available here at some point is suggested by the inclusion at this point of the astrological fragment, which does not share the consistency of punctuation noted by Meyer, and is therefore probably an addition made at some later time.<sup>68</sup> One possibility is that the astrological fragment

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<sup>67</sup> Again, this particular detail comes from the following line, and the resonance of 385 depends upon knowledge of 386.

<sup>68</sup> Although this fragment is separated from the initiation, I think that an individual with an interest in Mithras would very likely be interested in astrology as well. As Alan Segal noted, this initiation is framed as a new birth and may pre-suppose a new horoscope; see "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and Their Environment," *ANRW* II 23.2 (1980) 1381. The fragment

had already been added to the foot of this earlier document at the time when the owner discovered the new version of the Homeric lines, and so they were either 1) copied at the beginning, where there was blank space for some unknown reason; or 2) copied on to a loose sheet that was pasted or otherwise appended to the beginning rather than the end, also for an unknown reason. When this document was then copied again, all three Homeric occurrences and the astrological fragment were combined into the relationships we now see.

The basic picture that I derive from all this detail is as follows. Whatever the origin of the Mithraic visionary text, at some point it began to be expanded, or at least to accumulate additional, more or less related material. The initiation probably always involved some sort of phylacteries (660) and these<sup>69</sup> were continually annotated, as readers of the text incorporated other useful or lucky phrases. Line 819 says that the phylactery to be worn on the left is *προσθυμηρι πληρέστατον, καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει*, followed by the three Homeric lines that travel as a group. The text as we have it indicates that at some point in transmission, a scribe may have been collating at least two manuscripts,<sup>70</sup> and this statement may mean that in at least one of them, the three Homeric lines were "notated" near the description of the left-hand phylactery. Two manuscript traditions were thus collated to create a new one that included the three Homeric lines as part of its main text, along with the introductory clause. The new combined version then itself began to accumulate notes and material, a further Homeric line (824/*Iliad* 8.424), a small historiola about Zeus (825-9), another Homeric line (830/*Iliad* 5.385), and a second version of two good Homeric phylacteries, appended because of their *lemmata*—the annotator of the text already had the first of the two (824/*Iliad* 8.424), but without the informa-

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is not a new natal chart, but it is not impossible that it relates in some way to configurations favorable for initiation and therefore rebirth.

<sup>69</sup> 660 refers to a phylactery "on the right" and the invocation of a word *προσθυμηρι* (*sic*) which may be written upon it. Later (813-20), right and left phylacteries are mentioned, and the left one is said to be *προσθυμηρι* (*sic*) *πληρέστατον*, having more of this word—this may mean it was written more times on the left than on the right.

<sup>70</sup> Indicated here (819-20) and also at line 500.

tion about what it was for. This line came already associated with the second lemmatized verse (834/*Iliad* 10.193) and so that was annotated in as well. After this, the astrological fragment was either copied into empty space left at the end of it all, or the whole thing was re-copied, now with all notes drawn down into the main text and with the astrological fragment incorporated from a loose text. I think the former is more likely, though, because at another, even later time, a fresh version of the Homeric lines was discovered and copied in, but at the *beginning* of the text, suggesting that there was not enough empty space after the astrological fragment to copy in eight lines of text, as would be the case if at the time this third version of the Homer phylacteries was discovered, the third block (850-1229) already followed immediately upon the astrological fragment, as it does in the present *PGM* IV.

All of this boils down to the possibility of five or six episodes of redaction for this small block of text alone:

1. Original text, date unknown; at least 2 manuscripts
  2. Text (2 mss consulted) plus daughter letter and additional material (Dieterich) and description of phylacteries; this supplemented text generated at least two versions which were used to make:
    3. Collated text with room at the end, which began to accumulate Homeric lines;
    4. The block combined with overall Block 2, for manuscript reasons;
    5. All of Block 2 combined with the rest of *PGM* IV or its predecessors.

### Block 2 section C: 850-1226 or 1264

The next block of text consists of four visionary spells (850-929, 930-1114, 1115-66, 1167-226), the last two of which are very clearly related to each other. These four may have been followed by a bilingual exorcistic spell in a group of five later incorporated into *PGM* IV, but except for one manuscript feature,<sup>71</sup> the indications of pre-collected grouping may almost as well be explained by the efforts of a more than usually organized compiler.

Within the block, the strongest relationships are between the third and fourth visionary spells, both of which 1) have the term "stele" in their *lemmata*, and 2) involve the god Aion. It is likely that these two were already together when linked to other texts.

This pair also links thematically with 850-929 ("Solomon's Collapse"), in that the first of the pair mentions the god entering into the practitioner (1122-3), which is also the goal of 850-929, although there the god enters into a medium, not the actual practitioner. There may also be a weak association between the second of the pair that makes symbolic use of the continually burning lamp of the Temple of God in Jerusalem, which in a way implies Solomon, who is associated with the building of that Temple. Therefore, it is possible that all four can be seen as linked thematically, and perhaps as a single document containing material relevant to a single type of visionary initiation, not unlike, e.g. the multiple versions of the *Eighth Book of Moses* contained in *PGM* XIII.<sup>72</sup>

The use of the term *στήλη* in the *lemmata* of the second pair of texts is not unique in *PGM*, but is sufficiently unusual to cause surprise when found in two successive spells. The term is used in *PGM* to describe both words to be recited<sup>73</sup> and material to be in-

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<sup>71</sup> An inexplicable blank space is left on 14 verso after line 1264.

<sup>72</sup> Which itself has a fondness for the term *στήλη* to designate writings and recitations.

<sup>73</sup> Only recitation mentioned: *PGM* IV 2572; XIII 61, 425, 684.

scribed,<sup>74</sup> and in one case, both.<sup>75</sup> The two spells here both use the term apparently with reference to spoken material only, but because neither appears with any kind of *praxis*, a lost instruction about writing cannot be ruled out.

The manuscript of *PGM* IV presents some unusual features where these blocks appear. These features are not unusual in themselves, but they are not characteristic of *PGM* IV overall. "Solomon's Collapse" is preceded by a small space and a forked *paragraphos*. To make such a separation is not the usual practice in *PGM* IV.<sup>76</sup> The text then proceeds straight through to 929 without break or feature. The "Direct Vision" text that begins at 930 is preceded by a rather large space of about two blank lines and another forked *paragraphos*, which is again not unusual, but not generally characteristic of this manuscript overall. Within the invocation section, the text twice skips to the beginning of the next line when shifting from instructions or magical names into Greek verse (938, 947), even though the verses themselves are written straight through without break, something that, again, *PGM* IV does not ordinarily do. This particular visionary spell has a variety of appendices or applications beginning at line 955,<sup>77</sup> of which several are marked in a variety of ways, including straight<sup>78</sup> and forked *paragraphoi* (1052, possibly 1057); others have no marks whatsoever (e.g., 1035). This use of *paragraphoi* to mark internal divisions within a spell is again not consistently characteristic of *PGM* IV. Though some of these papyrological features may appear elsewhere, it is noticeable to find so many of them together here in this block.

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<sup>74</sup> Only writing mentioned: *PGM* V 96 (probably), 423; VII 215, 941; XIII 54, 127, 132, 568, 688.

<sup>75</sup> *PGM* IV 3209-54, where the practitioner first copies a  $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta$  (line 3249), and then recites it (line 3252).

<sup>76</sup> It does, however, occur sporadically. My point is not that this is a unique event, but that it and many other such patterns on *PGM* IV are not applied consistently or logically, and therefore may represent some sort of effort to follow patterns on divergent exemplars, that exhibit different scribal choices.

<sup>77</sup> Preisendanz prints a symbol, //, here, but this is not visible in my photographs.

<sup>78</sup> Possibly line 960 (not visible on my photographs), definitely 975, 977, 1057, 1066, 1077, 1085, 1103.

After this, the first of the  $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta$  texts is preceded by a forked *paragraphos* and no space (1115), and the second is preceded by a simple *paragraphos* (1167). The occurrence of a small group of possibly thematically-linked spells inside a large manuscript which suddenly exhibits different scribal choices is suggestive of a discrete exemplar being used and faithfully copied by the scribe of PGM IV or its exemplar. The last feature, the differential marking of the two "stele" spells, could also suggest that those two spells were together, with the second noted as a variant, at an earlier stage of transmission.

The uncertainty about the end of the block involves a bilingual Coptic-Greek exorcistic spell (1227-64) that names the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as well as Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. This spell is introduced with a forked *paragraphos* (1227) and differs significantly in purpose from the previous four spells. However, it is weakly linked to them thematically, through its use of the Israelite (and Christian) God and the patriarchs in a way that is consciously recognizable. It is possible to see this latter spell as an add-on to an original Solomonic-visionary text, but the main point is that after this block, there is a significant empty space left in the manuscript, and a thematic turn back to utilitarian purposes, and intelligibly Graeco-Roman deities.<sup>79</sup>

### Block 2 section D: 1227 or 1265-1389

The fourth group within Block 2 consists of a beneficent erotic technique (1265-74) and two or three<sup>80</sup> visionary<sup>81</sup> or divine-assis-

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<sup>79</sup> While the Bear texts that follow do contain a few elements that may ultimately trace back to some or another Jewish source, I personally doubt that anyone but a scholar of magic in antiquity with excellent modern training would be sensitive to this. While it is possible that our magical formularies were compiled by scholarly persons for antiquarian reasons, I do not think that their approach included the kind of linguistic analysis that is so useful to us today. For this reason, I am confining my thematic distinctions to shifts and emphases that I think would be understandable to anyone using or reading the spell.

<sup>80</sup> This depends on how one divides the text. There are *lemmata* and paragraph marks in lines 1275 and 1331, making two overall spells if we subsume 1323-30 under the applications and variations of 1275-1322, as does Preisendanz.

tance spells involving "The Bear" (1275-322; 1323-30; 1331-89), which may suggest either a pre-collected free-standing document or an editor or scribe who was much more organized than usual. The beginning of the block is unclear, due to the ambiguous situation of 1227-64, discussed above, although the unexplained large space on 14 verso (between lines 1264 and 1265) suggests that this spell belongs with the previous group. The end of the block, however, is clearly marked by the entirely blank leaf 16 recto-verso.

The Bear-spells relate to each other thematically, and it is easy to understand why they would be grouped together, either from loose texts by a very organized editor at the time of the writing of the precursor to this part of PGM IV (Block 2 overall), or by some person previous to this who compiled a short "book" with two Bear texts. These texts are both utilitarian in the sense that they aim to accomplish something, although the goals are not stated. It is difficult to understand a thematic relationship between them and the Aphrodite charm, which appears *before* this overall group of three rather than at its end.

"Aphrodite's Secret Name" is not preceded by any kind of *paragraphos*. Both of the Bear texts, however, are set off by a forked *paragraphos*. 1265-74 are also very slightly closer to each other than are the rest of the lines on that page, and have a very slightly different orientation, lacking the somewhat upward slant of the other lines on the page. However, 1265-74 are still written in the same hand as the rest of the papyrus. This situation opens up the possibility that lines 1265-74 were added *shortly after* the completion of at least this page of PGM IV, probably by the same scribe, and were copied in here because of the opportunity presented by the large space left after the exorcistic spell; if this is so, then that space would originally have been much larger than it appears to be

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However, 1323 (which begins with ἄλλο) does show a tiny marginal tick, and this is probably why it is translated as a discrete spell in Betz, *GMP*, p. 63). However, since the first Bear spell already includes several variant invocations, because there is no *paragraphos*, and because there is no real skip at the end of line 1322, I prefer to see 1323-30 as its continuation, and break the text into two Bear spells, separated by *paragraphoi*.

<sup>81</sup> Only lines 1323-30 directly mention divination.

now.<sup>82</sup> Why new material would be added here and not at the end remains a mystery. Perhaps the feminine gender of the constellation invoked in the first of the two Bear texts suggested a thematic linkage to Aphrodite and the addition of her spell at the bottom of the blank, near the Bear texts, rather than at the top of the blank, near the exorcistic spell. Both of these texts also require frankincense, though this is probably too common a recipe ingredient to have dictated the grouping of the two spells. The second Bear text is directed toward plural deities, and concludes with the "hundred-lettered" name of Typhon. According to Plutarch, Egyptians did associate the constellation Ἀρκτοκ with Typhon;<sup>83</sup> the first Bear text, however, appears to involve Helios and/or Pre (or a single god, Helios-Pre), rather than Typhon.<sup>84</sup> After this second Bear text, the end of a block is dramatically indicated by the entirely blank leaf 16 recto-verso. As noted, while the leaf may be there for codicological reasons, it does appear to have been placed in that spot with regard to the logical break and perhaps exemplar change, that happens after 15 verso.

### Block 3: 1390-1927

This block consists of two lengthy erotic spells, each of which occupies an entire leaf of the manuscript (1390-495, 1496-595),<sup>85</sup> a

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<sup>82</sup> If this is so, then it would appear that it was not felt to be important to *keep* that space blank, which actually makes it harder to understand why the blank was left in the first place.

<sup>83</sup> *Isis and Osiris*, 359 D.

<sup>84</sup> Texts involving the Bear also appear in *PGM* VII 686-702 and the very fragmentary LXXII 1-36. Betz notes the use of many ancient epithets for Artemis in the invocation to the Bear in *PGM* VII, and both of them, like the two under discussion, directed toward some unspecified action ("do the NN thing"); see Betz, *GMP*, 137-8 and 138 nn. 123-7. The Bear is also invoked briefly in *PGM* XXIII 31, a passage from the *Kestoi* of Julius Africanus (= *P. Oxy.* III 412), which also invokes many of the powers involved in the two Bear spells of *PGM* IV.

<sup>85</sup> 1390-1495 = 17 r/v; 1496-1595 = 18 r/v. Even though the spells of 17 r/v and 18 r/v are free-standing, they are strongly linked thematically with the material that follows them, in the second half of the manuscript through the latter portion of 22 recto, after which there is a break.



consecration text for a ring or a stone (1596-715), a long erotic text called "The Sword of Dardanos" that also involves a stone and also a wooden figure of Eros (1716-870),<sup>86</sup> and an apparent erotic spell involving the wax figure of a dog (1872-927).<sup>87</sup> Of these five, the first and last require as recipe ingredients the death-places or body parts (respectively) of persons who have died violently, and both of these address the souls of these figures in their invocations. The second and third are also closely related, and may possibly be a single spell with appended phylactery, since the second erotic spell concludes by requesting the "spell for all occasions," and the third begins with the *lemma* "Consecration for all purposes." It then goes on to create a stone (1619) or ring (1714) with protective power and many other strengths, including "sexual charm" (1674). If these two are regarded as a unit, then all of the spells in the block are erotic. This thematic connection is paralleled by the stylistic similarity of the texts, all of which are very long and, except for the fifth, have lots of invocation and very little *praxis*.

Both of the full leaf spells seem clearly to have been deliberately laid out on a full page each. The first of the two has relatively more lines per page (55/52).<sup>88</sup> The second of the two has fewer words per line than the first, and 18 verso is written in slightly expanded form to compensate and fill the entire page. The top of the next page marks the consecration (1596-1715). This consecration is followed by the "Sword of Dardanos" without break other than a forked *paragraphos*. After the "Sword," there is another forked *paragraphos* and a fairly large blank space on 21 verso, before the wax dog text. This blank comes directly after a section in the "Sword" that describes in detail an image of Aphrodite, Eros and

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<sup>86</sup> Nock, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 190 and nn. 88 and 89. There is at least one extant amulet that is thought to derive from this text; see P. René Mouterde, S.J., *Le Glaive de Dardanos: Objets et inscriptions magiques de Syrie* (Beirut 1930) 55-64, with other related examples throughout.

<sup>87</sup> Another wax dog effigy appears at 2943-66, but the spells do not seem otherwise related.

<sup>88</sup> As noted earlier, the average is 52.2 for pages without skips. The frames that obscure the margins on the versos in my photographs make it unclear whether 17 verso extends further down into the bottom margin than usual as well.

Psyche that is to be inscribed upon a magnetic stone, and it is possible that the blank was left after the text for the image to be drawn in, which for some reason was never done. Thematically, the wax dog spell relates very well to the others in this group, in that it is erotic and depends upon an image, in this case in three dimensions. It relates poorly to the rather tightly knit block of spells involving "Pitys" that follows.

#### **Block 4: 1928-2240**

In this block of five texts—two called "Pitys' Spell of Attraction," 1928-2005 and 2006-125, both of which involve skull cups; a "Restraining Seal for Skulls," 2125-39; "Pitys the Thessalian's Spell for Questioning Corpses," 2140-44; and Homer verses, 2145-240—there are very strong thematic links among the first four, and a less clear but still interesting link to the *praxis* of the fifth. All four Pitys texts involve the creation of a written lamella, either on actual leaves or on metal or papyrus. Of these, three give specific ink recipes,<sup>89</sup> and two discuss effective drawings and figures, one of which may have been intended to be drawn in.<sup>90</sup>

As before, the end of the block is indicated most strongly by the apparent beginning of a new block at 2241. This block provides a very good example of the pattern Thematic Group + Addendum = exemplar, when followed by New Thematic Block. In this case, the exemplar would be three or four texts about Pitys and body parts, to which has been appended the additional occurrence of the Homer verses, here with a long description of the verses' utility. In the present manuscript this is followed by the beginning of another clear, thematically related block or document,<sup>91</sup> which does not relate either to Pitys or to the Homer verses.

The first Pitys spell is marked by a forked *paragraphos*, and inside the spell the poetic invocation is marked with *paragraphoi* at

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<sup>89</sup> Ink recipes: 1928-2005, 2006-125, 2140-44.

<sup>90</sup> Drawings and figures: 2006-125, 2125-39 (engraved). A blank at 2067 may have been left to draw the first of these.

<sup>91</sup> Invocations addressed to mainly lunar deities.

its beginning and end. The second Pitys spell is also marked by a forked *paragraphos* and the text continues unmarked to 2067, after which there is a large blank area which may have been left for the drawing of a goddess and a spell in the form of a circle, which had just been described in 2048-50.<sup>92</sup> After the skip, the text continues without mark until the *paragraphos* that marks the invocation at 2088. I enumerate these to note that this is the usual frequency and occasion of *paragraphoi* in this manuscript. After this, abruptly and confusingly, comes 24 recto/verso, where the scribe has used a flurry of *paragraphoi*, mainly simple, to mark off every single shift from *logos* to *praxis*, and almost every mention of new people or functions for which the lines are useful—for a total of 8 on 24 recto and 16 on 24 verso, totally out of step with the rest of the manuscript. As the text continues onto 25 recto, despite the fact that a laundry list of applications for the lines is presented, there are no more *paragraphoi* of any kind. Why a scribe would suddenly do this would appear inexplicable. While each *paragraphos* in the cluster does mark something of note, there are other things of note that are not marked. I can only say that, since the increased marking is noticeable in both the last Pitys text and the Homer verses with applications, it is possible that both of these may have been added on to the end of an exemplar containing the first three Pitys spells, by someone with a more obsessive interest in being able to quickly find the uses of these verses, though not in the specifics of how to accomplish those purposes (the unmarked material on 25 verso). When this document was brought over into PGM IV or its exemplar, the marks were retained along with the text.<sup>93</sup>

### Block 5: 2241-2942

Although this block is very large, it consists of relatively few spells, of which several are extraordinarily long due to their inclu-

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<sup>92</sup> 23 verso.

<sup>93</sup> The Homer verses may have been combined with the Pitys material simply for convenience. There is, however a possible thematic link in that both mention an iron lamella (a fairly unusual medium) and the use of this lamella with dying or dead people for the purpose of divination.

sion of elaborate poetic invocations to Selene (2241-358), to Artemis-Selene (2521-67; 2574-612, 2642-676, 2785-870), to Hekate (2714-64), and to Aphrodite (2891-942). That the block represents a pre-existing source copied into *PGM* IV is indicated by several features. These spells are linked thematically through their involvement of female powers (all "lunar" except for the Aphrodite spell, and even she is "celestial"), although these deities certainly do appear frequently enough throughout *PGM*. It is also important to note that, while a great deal of material in *PGM* IV overall might have been folk knowledge at some stage, these literary and expensive spells suggest the world of educated people with time and resources; their interest in Hekate-Selene may further suggest the atmosphere of theurgy.<sup>94</sup>

### Block 5 section A: 2241-2440

Within the overall block are certain features suggestive of even smaller collections. The first of these features is the pattern Large Spell-addenda in lines 2241-440,<sup>95</sup> followed by another Large Spell (2441-621) which relates thematically to the *first* member of the previous block, not to the spells that immediately precede it. As noted earlier, this suggests an "original" copy of the larger spell (2241-358), which gained various accretions over time. In the first stage of this, the apparent change of subject in line 2355 from *āvacca*, "mistress," to the male figures Harken-techtha and the archangel Michael appear to suggest an addition at this point that

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<sup>94</sup> There have been many discussions of the relationships and identities among these deities, their functions, and the epithets they share. See Theodor Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," in Th. Klauser and A. Rucker (eds), *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums* (Münster in Westfalen 1939) 125-45; Sarah Iles Johnston, *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature*. American Classical Studies 21 (Atlanta 1990).

<sup>95</sup> This portion of the pattern was noticed by Morton Smith, though he comments only on the isolation of the spell from its immediate neighbors, not on the larger patterns of the whole section; *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 644-5.

creates the grammatical shift.<sup>96</sup> On recopying, those lines were included with the hymn, leaving no line or demarcation between them and the metrical text but perhaps leaving after them an indeterminate amount of open space. This blank space was then used for the two unrelated good-business spells, lines 2359-440. When this version was itself copied, either into the present *PGM IV* or its predecessor, the additional material was again preserved, this time with a small space to distinguish it from what the scribe thought of as the hymn—which seemed to him to *include* lines 2355-8. This newer, larger formulary then continues with the rest of the block, material that relates to the Selene hymn and not to these various addenda.

1) "Document to the Waning Moon"

2) "Document to the Waning Moon" + 2355-8

3) "Document to the Waning Moon" +  
2355-8 + good business spells

4) Ultimate copying into  
*PGM IV* or its predecessor

### **Block 5 section B: 2441-2891 or 2942**

The second part of the block has four spells using hymns to Selene-Hekate-Artemis-Persephone. The first of these (2441-621), actually contains three hymns, the third of which is lemmatized "Coercive" (2574-604). This is followed by a "Slander Spell" (2622-707) which also uses a hymn (2643-74). These two hymns are so close as to be considered variant examples of a single hymn or spell, and it is of great interest that magical names and their placement are shared as well as poetic, metrical elements. This would suggest that the developed spell, and not only the hymn, was in circulation

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<sup>96</sup> Morton Smith described 2355-8 as a "fragment introducing a protective rite evidently for some other spell now lost," and says they begin with a "pseudoepistolary formula." These lines are also not in meter, further suggesting that the words on the far side of the magical names do not form an original continuation of the overall hymn; *ibid.* 645.

long enough to develop significant variations and to be collected and combined by someone who could clearly see that they belonged together in his own document. Both of these hymns involve slander of the intended victim, informing the goddess that the victim is blaspheming against her, although each has many other sections, both metrical and prose, that are more or less unique. Also, each of these spells begins with a very similar public relations or advertising section, stressing the speed and multipurpose utility of the spell and the need for a protective amulet for the practitioner, although the first of the two is more elaborated in this regard. The two spells require similar but not identical ingredients for their recipes, most of which, such as a mouse, moon beetles, and the fat of a virgin dappled goat, also appear in the poetic sections. Other ingredients are also mentioned by both spells, including various kinds of incenses, flowers and fruits. Taken together, these features suggest different versions of a particular ritual, brought together into a single document in a way that recalls *PGM XIII*, which contains multiple versions of *The Eighth Book of Moses* as well as other material related to Moses in various ways. These two versions were ultimately combined with the following two hymns, creating what could almost be called a "Moon Book," full of long hymns and elaborate rituals for erotic purposes, involving the lunar goddess in many forms.<sup>97</sup> Then, the overall Moon Book eventually attracted the Aphrodite hymn which, while not lunar, is extremely close to the others, in function (erotic summoner) and in style (poetic sections).

- 1) "Slander Spell of Attraction" (two versions)
- 2) Slander Spell of Attraction" (two versions) + two additional Artemis *et al.* texts
- 3) These four with Aphrodite text added;
- 4) Ultimate copying into *PGM IV* or its predecessor

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<sup>97</sup> And also including Aphrodite, related by function (erotic) and also, weakly, by being also a celestial body.

### **The End of the Manuscript: 2943-3274**

The preceding block brought the scribe to the bottom of 32 recto. What follows to the end of the manuscript presents an extremely varied group of materials in which, as far as I can see, no thematic or manuscript patterns suggestive of pre-existing formularies can be seen. The first spell to appear, the erotic bats'-eyes ritual involving Hekate (2943-66) is functionally and thematically linked to the preceding block, but is stylistically very different.

The planning of the codex that is evident in the relative numbers of characters per line would seem to suggest that the scribe did not leave the last nine pages of his codex blank, so that this material could accrete; and the apparent consistency of hand confirms this. The question is open, however, whether this material presented itself to the scribe as loose materials or as a small handbook, which was unusually poorly organized (relative to the ones hypothesized in this paper). If loose, it would have been harder for the scribe to predict how many pages he would require unless he already had the exact number of characters per line that would be needed for their place in the codex. This may make a single collection more likely, but there really is nothing I can see in the text to suggest a preference for either scenario.

### **Conclusions, Possibilities, Desiderata**

To begin with the needs: *PGM* IV needs and deserves a new edition using all the skills and tools of a modern papyrologist, on the model of R. W. Daniel's essential study of *PGM* XII and XIII, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*.<sup>98</sup> The present study used microfilm acquired from the Bibliothèque Nationale, the quality of which could be greatly enhanced by modern techniques.

This study of manuscript features suggests that the current *PGM* IV was copied directly from an exemplar that was already in a similar form, as shown by the forethought that seems to have gone

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<sup>98</sup> *Pap.Colon.* 19 (1991).

into the average number of lines per page, discussed above and in Chart 1. That exemplar itself would seem to have been created through the combination of a variety of smaller formularies into one object. It is thus the exemplar scribe who has probably left the inexplicable blank sheets, especially 3 verso and 16 recto/verso, and it is to that copying event that the considerations described above apply. As discussed above, the blank leaf 16 recto/verso may have been added to create extra space in the second half of the codex, but it also occurs at a content break which is minimally marked at the foot of 15 verso. 16 recto may therefore have been deliberately left blank, to emphasize something that was important to the scribe or to preserve a feature of the exemplar he was using, perhaps a blank back cover for a source formulary running up to 1389, in other words, Block 2 discussed above.

The evidence of *defixiones* (papyrus and durable), figurines, etc. demonstrates that some people at least did do things like (some of) those described in formularies in the fourth and fifth centuries and beyond. That some of them probably used formularies is demonstrated by David Martinez's work, which shows the consistency not only of certain phrases but also of writing-forms and figurines, etc., over a long period of time; use of formularies is also frequently stated in literary references. But it does not follow from this that the formularies they used were like the present *PGM* IV in structure and included all the types of materials contained there—in other words, the ancient category for "magic"<sup>99</sup> in different centuries may not have included everything that *PGM* IV, in the fourth century, includes. The patterns discussed here suggest discrete interests, and perhaps backgrounds, behind the groupings within the manuscript. This is most evident in Block 5, a hypothesized sub-formulary that draws mainly upon Greek imagery, prayer and poetic forms for erotic rituals involving a Graeco-Roman constellation of goddesses, and which discusses stones and phylacteries for the practitioner, but relies most on recitation for the activation of the magic, and does not create a *defixio*. Block 2, with its many divisions, mainly appears to reflect the interests of learned persons in-

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<sup>99</sup> I refer to the conceptual category, not the terminology used, on which see Graf, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) esp. 20-60.



terested in ascent and transformation. Do these two disparate witnesses describe discrete areas of interest within one specific group, or discrete *groups* that may, in context, have had little interest in or use for each other? The former position was argued by David Frankfurter, who attributed the combination to a circle of Egyptian priests in the Roman and Christian eras, who functioned as religious experts for their communities at the same time as they preserved very ancient temple traditions. Such individuals might well have had command of all the types of materials contained in *PGM* IV; in fact, one of the good-business spells in *PGM* IV specifically mentions making a temple prosper greatly (3125-71). The patterns discussed in this paper, however, suggest that even if some religious experts used or knew all such types of material in the fourth century, prior to that time there seems to have been sufficient differentiation of interests that within the larger blocks (books) the overlap is rarely to be seen.

The understanding of ancient magic is greatly complicated by the need, presented by *PGM* IV and other complex formularies, to try and include within that category all that these huge collections contain. If, however, manuscript features can be used to distinguish smaller collections with different principles of organization, the current trend toward rejection of "magic" as a useful category for the study of ancient religion may need to be rethought.<sup>100</sup>

## Chart 2: Overview of Blocks

*Block 1: 1-153*

*Block 2: 154-1389*

*section A: 154-466*

*section B: 467-849*

*section C: 850-1226 or 1264*

*section D: 1227 or 1265-389*

*Block 3: 1390-927*

*Block 4: 1928-2240*

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<sup>100</sup> The analysis of various ancient categories for which the term "magic" may in fact be useful is the subject of my work in progress, "The Magic Word: Religious Language and Language in Religious Studies" (approximate title).

*Block 5: 2241-942*

*section A: 2241-440*

*section B: 2441-942*

*Block 6: 2943-3274*

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## The κάγκελλον Artab Measure Equals Five Modii Xysti?

In *ZPE* 122 (1998) 189-94, this writer, in the absence of consensus on how many choenices there were in a stable artab,<sup>1</sup> approached the problem from the perspective of the sack, one that commonly contained 3 or 3 1/3 artabs of wheat weighing approximately 68 kg., the equivalent of 10 Roman *modii*. I concluded that the 3-artab sack would facilitate the loading and offloading of donkeys and ships, help the captain of a grain carrier to calculate his ship's capacity, and enable the *mensores frumentarii* to measure and to certify that a shipment of wheat was in accord with its bill of lading. I went further to suggest that the combination of a sack containing 3 artabs as the equivalent of 10 *modii* appears to have been a bit of Roman ingenuity that provided its officials with the efficiency of the decimal system in order to get full measure of the tribute levied upon Egypt in terms of the Roman *modius*.

In the sixth and seventh centuries another artab measure made a prominent appearance, the κάγκελλον (Lat. *cancellus*) artab, which was used for the tribute as well as other internal transactions involving grain. In contrast to what we can establish about the earlier stable measure that was packed in 3- or 3 1/3-artab sacks which were conveyed to granaries and harbors by donkey or wagon caravans, we have, unfortunately, neither information on how many κάγκ. artabs were put into sacks nor testimony as to the manner in which the sacks were conveyed to granaries or ports. Not knowing the number of κάγκ. artabs that were put into a sack, or the number of sacks carried by a donkey, we have no way of estimating the weight of a sack having X artabs as the equivalent of X

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<sup>1</sup> R.P. Duncan Jones, "The Choenix, the Artaba and the Modius," *ZPE* 21 (1979) 43-52; "Variation in the Egyptian Grain Measure," *Chiron* 9 (1979) 345-7, *versus* J. Shelton, "Artaba and Choinices," *ZPE* 24 (1971) 55-67; "Two Notes on the Artab," *ZPE* 42 (1981) 99-106; D.W. Rathbone, "The Weight and Measurement of Egyptian Grains," *ZPE* 53 (1983) 265-75.

*modii*. We are at a further disadvantage in that the term κάγκελλον does not surface in the metrological tables or in the literary material of Hultsch's *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae*.

That being the case, how are we to interpret a document like *P.Oxy.* XVI 1906 (VI/VII) that records distributions εἰς τὴν ἐμβολὴν cíτου ρυπαροῦ καγκέλλω ἀρταβῶν of three amounts (lines 1, 9, 17) of 79,069 artabs and one (line 26) of 118,604 artabs for a grand total of 355,811 καγκ. artabs? Even with a deduction of 1% for cleansing, the total amount would be over 352,000 καγκ. artabs. If we reckoned in terms of a 3-artab sack with a value of 10 *modii*, we would arrive at a figure of 3,550,000 *modii*. Another document, *P.Oxy.* XVI 2021 (VI/VII), accounts for 11,077 cíτου ρυπαρ(οῦ) κ(αγκέλλω) artabs (line 6), which yielded 10,010 cíτου καθαρ(οῦ) artabs for Takona's contribution toward the *embole*. These numbers raise the question of whether the καγκ. artab was "heaped" or "level," a matter about which the evidence of the earlier 3-artab sack is silent.

There is one statistic that may be helpful in resolving these questions and for which there is good authority, namely, that the καγκ. artab was made up of 40 choenices. The figure has been determined by totaling choenices and fractions of a choenix making up a single καγκ. artab; these consistently add up to 40.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty with this number is that it applied not only to the καγκ. artab but also to many other artabs of an earlier date.<sup>3</sup> Putting aside the debatable question as to whether the Egyptian choenix was variable, and the equally debatable question as to whether the Roman *modius* contained 16, or more, dry-measure *sextarii* (*xestai*), we can more profitably look at the Egyptian artab in terms of weight, rather than in terms of measure, and relate that figure to the amount a donkey can carry. Following that we can turn to Epiphanius' "Treatise on Weights and Measures," which reflects the simplification of various Greek measures into acceptable Roman measures. Let me provide the example of that simplification. The Greek *kotyle* is highly variable; *OCD*<sup>9</sup> 953 states that "its absolute value in various local systems ranges from 210 ml. to more than

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<sup>2</sup> *P.Oxy.* XVI 1855.5-6, note; 1910.15, note; *P.Sorb.* 60.14, note; *P.Oxy.* LV 3804.141-2, note, pp. 126-7, with discussion by Rea.

<sup>3</sup> R.P. Duncan-Jones (1979) 365, 369.(n. 1, above).

330 ml. (7.4 – 11.6 fl. oz.), the most usual being 240 ml. and 270 ml. (.5 and 9.5 fl. oz.)." To Epiphanius, however, the *kotyle* was simply the Roman equivalent of 1/2 *xestes*, and that figure was widely used in computing liquid measures.

To work out an approximation for the weight of an artab of wheat—at least a standardized one employed for the weight of a *modius* of wheat—we have two givens: Pliny (*HN* 18.66) cites 20 5/6 Roman pounds (7.08 kg) for a *modius* (heaped? or level?) of Alexandrian wheat, and the amount that a donkey can carry, which is in the range of 90 kg.<sup>4</sup> To these two facts we can add the citation of 100 litrai (25.58 kg) in the metrological table of *P.Lond.* V 1718 (cf. p. 156; second half of VI A.D.) as the weight of one artab, presumably of wheat; and, as stated in the metrological tablet *ZPE* 15 (1974) 176, 3 artabs are the equivalent of 10 *modii xysti*. In light of these figures, 10 *modii* of wheat would weigh a little over 75 kg, well within the limits of a donkey load.

I turn now to the Syriac version of Epiphanius' "Treatise on Weights and Measures" in order to examine some Roman measures that bear upon the Egyptian.<sup>5</sup> This text is superior to the Greek version since it includes some important details which are not found in the Greek or in its Latin translation. Epiphanius (fl. late IV century A.D.), reared in Palestine, educated in Egypt, and in later life Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, composed the treatise primarily to translate biblical weights and measures of the Septuagint into those that were current in his own time, i.e., Roman weights and measures. He ranged beyond the biblical to variations that he perceived in a number of different localities, especially in Cyprus where he held his ecclesiastical post. In providing Roman equivalents, he reflected a tendency, not often considered, to view Greek or Semitic measures in terms of whole numbers that were part of the decimal system. For example (pp. 142-3), the *kor* is given as the

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<sup>4</sup> See my previous discussion of the evidence in *ZPE* 122 (1998) 191. Further, the Semitic measure "homer" ('mr) is ultimately derived from a "donkey" load; see the discussion by Marvin A. Powell, "Weights and Measures," in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* VI (New York 1992) 903.

<sup>5</sup> J.E. Dean, ed. and trans., in *Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Studies of Ancient Oriental Civilization* (1935) no. 11.

equivalent of 30 *modii*, the *lethehh*, 15 *modii*; the *bath*, 50 *xestai*, the *m<sup>e</sup>nasis*, 10 *modii*, the *kotyle*, 0.5 *xestai*, etc.

As for the choenix, Epiphanius states (pp.46-7),

...it is variously measured among different (lit. "all") people... among (the Cyprians) they indicate it by one-eighth of a *modius*. And the *modius* among them, being measured without shaking down but pressed down, consists of 17 *xestai*, so that the choenix is 2 *xestai* and a little more.

Note the phrase "without shaking down but pressed down." Shaking down a measure of grain would level it; pressing down would make it possible to add an additional amount and this in all likelihood accounts for the "little more."

It is this statement of Epiphanius concerning Cyprus that is significant in making, by simple arithmetic, a determination of the number of *modii* in an Egyptian καγκ. artab. First and foremost is Epiphanius' rule-of-thumb statement that the choenix is 1/8 of a *modius*, and the equivalent of 2 dry-measure *xestai*. (In Cyprus the additional *xestes*—there are 17 instead of standard Roman 16 to the *modius*—is due to the "pressing down" of the measure.) If, as stated above, there are 40 choenices in a καγκ. artab, 1/8 of that figure would be 5 *modii*. Since the choenix is the equivalent of 2 *xestai*, the 40-choenix καγκ. artab would be composed of 80 dry-measure *xestai*. Reckoning with 16 *xestai* to the *modius* instead of the Cyprian 17, we can confirm the figure of 5 *modii* in the καγκ. artab.

There remains the issue of those many artabs that contain 40 choenices but that are not designated as κάγκελλον. An important perspective of a different kind on these measures is provided by J.R. Rea, the editor of *P.Oxy.* LV 3804 (566 A.D.), who in his note to lines 141-2 makes the following statement (p.129) regarding the κάγκελλον measure:

It remains to suggest that the Latin name of the measure is descriptive of extant Roman grain measures with internal fittings, see F. Haverfield, *Archaeologia Aeliana*<sup>3</sup> 13 (1916) 84-102, esp. 91 figs. 4-5, 96 fig. 9, 102 fig. 12. These bronze measures, of which are three clear examples of different sizes, are either cylinders or truncated cones open at the narrower end. From the centre of the circular base rises a perpendicular rod or pillar. Attached to the top of the rod and to three equidistant points on the circular rim is a horizontal bronze frame of three arms radiating from the centre to the rim. The top of the container, therefore, is a grid resembling a wheel with three spokes. It is suggested that the grip helped to define a consistent level measure and to prevent the grain being packed down unfairly, while the vertical

rod helped to maintain the correct relationship between the top and bottom of the measure, cf. F.G. Skinner, *Weights and Measures* 69-72.

In support of the use of a leveling device of this kind relatively early in Roman Egypt, Rea in this same note discusses and reedits lines 10-4 of *P.Lond.* II 256a = *W.Chr.* 443, dated to 15 A.D., and translates them as follows: "... (so many artabas of first quality (?) Syrian wheat, pure, unadulterated, free from barley, sieved, by the public measure fitted with a grid which has been brought up by me (?) from Alexandria."<sup>6</sup>

The date of 15 A.D. is compelling. A run-through of the DDBDP for μετρ- ξυτ- or ξυτ- καγκελλ- or κανκελλ- produced three first-century receipts for artabs of grain measured as follows: *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3163.9, dated to 72 A.D., δη(μοσίω) μέ(τρω) ξ(υτῶ) κ(αγκέλ- λω); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2841.8, dated to 85 A.D., δη(μοσίω) μέ(τρω) ξ(υτῶ) κανκ(έλλω); *SB XIV* 12169.13, dated to 96 A.D., δη(μοσίω) ξυ[τῶ] κ[α]γκέλλω. The search also produced two items in the fourth century: *P.Münch.* III.1 72.7, dated to 343 A.D., μέτρω δημο- σίω [κανκέλ]λω ξυτῶ; *P.Münch.* 90.3, dated to 363 A.D., μέτρω [δ]ημοσίω κανκέλλω [ξ]υτῶ. In the fifth through the sixth and seventh centuries, and probably later, there are numerous citations of καγκ. artabs without any indication of the word ξυτός.

It is likely that the three first-century documents reflect the influence of a device or procedure similar to that described by Rea, which leveled measures of grain. The term κάγκελλος (Lat. *cancel-lus*) is the feature of the containers illustrated by F. Haverfield which defined an acceptable or public measure. The "grid" is represented by three strips of metal on top of a container under which is the desired or prescribed amount. Any amount above the metal strips represent an excess which can be removed with swiping action, or in the literal meaning of ξυτός, "shaved or scraped (off)." In effect, the strips act as bars—and that is the meaning of *cancel-lus*—to exclude the unwanted excess.<sup>7</sup> Precisely how this was done

<sup>6</sup> Another similar public measure of a much earlier date (ca. 550 B.C.) is illustrated and described in *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 222-4.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek term also appears in ecclesiastical literature as a railing separating the chancel from the rest of the church (see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*). See also "cancel" and "cancelli" in *Oxford English Dictionary*<sup>2</sup>.

with large amounts of grain as those designated for the tribute is not revealed in the documents. "Shaking down," as Epiphanius describes it, would level a measure of grain. It is possible that the *sitologoi* weighed out one or more καγκ. (i.e., leveled) artabs and applied that figure on a larger scale to the bulk of grain awaiting measurement. Yearly crops vary in weight according to a variety of influences such as moisture, heat, fertilization and the like. Weighing a sample measure is necessary in order to take account of those differences, and that is in large part the function of δείγματα that accompany shipments, not only of grain taxes to Rome or Constantinople but also other commercial transactions to foreign ports.<sup>8</sup>

In short, I am suggesting that, by metonymy, the κάγκελλον measure in the late documents took on the meaning of ξυστόν, a flat or level measure as distinguished from a heaped measure. An artab of 40 choenices, in which each choenix was the equivalent of 2 *xestai*, or 80 *xestai*, would, in terms of a standard Italic *modius* of 16 *xestai*, equal 5 Italic *modii xysti*, a simple Roman measure that could be readily understood by the *mensores frumentarii* when examining bills of lading and accompanying δείγματα. As for Egyptians preparing a shipment for the annual tribute, each sack would contain two καγκ. artabs or 10 *modii*, the same number it contained when it was packed with 3 or 3 1/2 earlier artabs. We can observe in the Syriac edition of Epiphanius' treatise on weights and measures a "leveling out" or simplification of the complexities inherent in the Egyptian artab so as to bring it into conformity with Roman measures. His statement, for example, that the choenix was the equivalent of 1/8 of a *modius* or two *xestai* removes all of the metrological gymnastics in converting a Greek measure into a comparable Roman measure.

A final observation. It is clear from a scan of the DDBDP that the use of the κάγκελλον measure was centered in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Under καγκελλω- there were 529 citations of which 373 were from Oxyrhynchus. We arrive at an overall total of 417 for the Oxyrhynchite nome if to these 373 are added 22 citations from *P.Princ.* II 96 (551-552 or 556-567 A.D.) and 22 from *PSI* VIII 954. As early

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<sup>8</sup> See my article, "P.Oxy. IV 708: δείγματα Found to Be οὐ καθαρά and Its Implications," *BASP* 39 (2002) 111-7.



as the third century, Oxyrhynchites attempted to bring their wine measures into a relationship with the Roman by taking the variable Greek *kotyle* as the equivalent of one half of a *sextarius*. They went even further by devising a tri-keramia system in which their potters turned out jars that held precisely 10, 20, and 40 *kotylai*. The Oxyrhynchite creation was adapted in the Arsinoite nome using a series of measures holding 10, 15 and 30 *sextarii*.<sup>9</sup> What can be observed in all these measures, including the κάγκελλον artab, is the Oxyrhynchite innovative use of the decimal system.

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<sup>9</sup> See my articles, "The Value of the Maximian Cotyla in *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and *PSI* XII 1252" and "The Monochoron and Dichoron: Standard Measures for Wine Based on the Oxyrhynchition," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 167-72; "Standardization of Wine Measures at Oxyrhynchus in the Third Century A.D. and Its Extension to the Fayum," *BASP* 37 (2000) 105-9; "The Brief Life of an Innovation: The Tri-Keramia System Based Upon the Maximian Cotyla," *ZPE* 136 (2001) 221-4.

## ἀμπελουργός: More Than a "Vine Dresser"

The term ἀμπελουργός, has often been translated by English-speaking editors of papyrus documents as "vine dresser." This might give the impression of a specialist whose singular talent was to prune or cultivate vines, much like an οἰνοχειριστής was specialized to deal only with the receipt and distribution of wine. Here I offer as a paradigm several documents that illustrate the variety of tasks undertaken by an ἀμπελουργός other than vine dressing. Often cited in support of the term "vine dresser" is a postscript to a letter, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1673.29 (II A.D.), in which the recipient is told: "Send the leases of the vine dressers so that they may begin pruning" (τῶν ἀμπελουργῶν τὰς μισθώσεις (τ. -εις) πέμψον [ἵ]να τῆς ξυλοτομίας ἄρξωνται). The significant word here is "leases," for pruning the vines was likely only one obligation of the leaseholders, an obligation fulfilled after the vintage had been completed.

In fact, much more was required of the ἀμπελουργός. The term in its broadest sense refers to a "worker in a vineyard," and as such he does deal with vines but also with a host of other aspects concerned with the entire operation of a vineyard. It should also be remembered that the word ἀμπελών must be understood broadly since, unlike modern vineyards, an area so designated may contain fruit trees, such as olive and date, as well as reeds growing between the rows of vines or in other vacant spaces. "Zwischenkultur" is one term used for that kind of cultivation; "intensive agriculture" is another.<sup>1</sup>

The range of vineyard work is set forth in detail in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3354, a contract dated 257 A.D. covering two years of labor in a vineyard and its associated reed plot. Although the occupations of the contractors are not given (their names are partially preserved in lines 3-4), they were surely ἀμπελουργοί engaged in, as stated in line 5, ἀμπελουργικὰ ἔργα. The body of their work (lines 8-15) fo-

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<sup>1</sup> On Zwischenkultur, see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 285. For an explanation of the practical use of date palms in vineyards, see Hohlwein *Ét. Pap.* V, pp. 6-7.

cused quite naturally on the vines and seeing to it that proper seasonal operations were performed involving trenching, hoeing, thinning of leaves, watering, weeding, pinching off shoots, and removing dead leaves. In the neighboring plot, reeds, on which vines were propped, were pulled up, collected, bundled, and transported. In addition, the contract (lines 15-6) called for making matting for the treading-vat and the press, as well as for providing certain accessories for the water wheel. A close match to 3354 is *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631, a contract dated 280 A.D. for ἀμπελουργικά ἔργα (line 6), combined with a lease for the produce of an orchard.

Beyond tending to vines, reeds, and other agricultural operations within the vineyard, the ἀμπελουργοί in both documents contracted to carry out certain aspects of work relating to the process of bottling wine after it came off the treading floor. The clauses that spell out these obligations are almost identical in the two documents. After declaring that they will test the jars to see that they are sound, the ἀμπελουργοί then state the following:

3354.17-9: ἃ{μ}περ λαβόντα τὸν οἶνον συνθήσομεν ἐν τῷ ἡλιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐπαλίψομεν καὶ κεινήσομεν καὶ παραφυλάξομεν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκ[εῖ] ἀπόκειται ("and when these are filled with wine, we shall place them in the sunning-area, seal them,<sup>2</sup> move them, and guard them for as long as they stay there...")

1631.16-18: καὶ ταῦτα λαβόντα τὸν οἶνον [c]υνθήσομεν ἐν ἡλιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐπαλείψομεν καὶ κεινήσομεν καὶ μεταδιαιράσομεν καὶ παραφυλάξομεν ἐς ὅσον ἐν ἡλιαστηρίῳ ἀπόκ[ε]ιται... ("and when these [jars] have been filled with wine, we shall place them in the sunning-area, seal them, move them, and strain the wine from one jar to another (?), and watch over them as long as they are stored in the sunning-area...")

Thus, in addition to the usual tasks that concern the vineyard proper, ἀμπελουργοί are also involved in other aspects of the vintage to the extent that they seal the jars when filled with wine, move them about and guard them. Do they also fill the jars with

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<sup>2</sup> The editors of 3354 and 1631 translate ἐπαλίψομεν as "we shall oil them." The verb ἐπαλείφω "to smear over" in the above context indicates the process of sealing a jar after it has been filled with wine. See my articles "ἐπαλείψομεν in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631.16 and XL 3354.17: 'Oiling' or 'Sealing'," *BASP* 37 (2000) 101-3, and "Jar Stoppers and the Sealing of Wine Jars," *ZPE* 136 (2001) 217-20.

wine after it comes off the treading floor? The phrases ἄ{μ}περ λαβόντα τὸν οἶνον and καὶ ταῦτα λαβόντα τὸν οἶνον are too ambiguous to come to a conclusion.

There is, however, evidence from other documents that filling jars with wine was another job assigned to the ἀμπελουργοί. This operation was referred to as καταγγισμός, and the verb that was employed was καταγγίζειν, "to bottle" or "to put in containers." Several sixth-century Oxyrhynchite accounts of estate managers, reporting on expenditures to potters for pitch for new or old wine jars, also designated the recipient of the jars and the purpose to which they were to be put. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1911.188, 192; 1913.30, 34, 52; LV 3804.218 (cf. XVI 1912.128), the same formula is repeated with minor modifications: the name of the potter to whom pitch had been provided or from whom jars had been purchased, the amount of pitch or number of new or old jars, the phrase δοθ(έντων) τοῖς ἀμπελουργοῖς (of such-and-such ἐποίκιον or other indication of locality), and the wording πρὸς καταγγισμ(ὸν) οἴνου ῥύσεως of indiction X ("given to the vineyard workers for bottling the wine of the vintage of X indiction"), and finally the expenditure of money.

At this juncture it is fair to say that the documents demonstrate that the ἀμπελουργός was a jack-of-all-trades in the vineyard, from the cultivation, irrigation, trenching, and pruning of vines for the production of wine grapes to other skills dealing with reeds for the propping of vines and tending to fruit trees in the vineyard. At vintage time, he bottled wine, sealed jars, moved them from place to place and saw to it that they were properly protected. There is, however, one task that the ἀμπελουργός did not perform, since, most likely, it was unskilled and below his station. That task was treading the grapes in the ληνός. Leases and contracts for his labor do not specify treading as an obligation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Documents dealing with the production of wine have little to say regarding treading and treaders of grapes. Occasional references in the papyri to treaders can be found in *LSJ* under such terms as ληνοβάτης, πάτηςις, πατητής, and σταφυλοπατητής. *P.Sarap.* 70, an account of expenditures, lists a number of πατοῦντες ἐργ(άται), who are paid a few obols, without any indication that they were treaders of grapes. What can be observed in support of their low economic status in a number of documents is that the anonymous πατηταί were rarely paid in money but rather in food or wine (see esp. *SB* XII 10990 [V/VI A.D.], XVI

There remains one aspect in the production of wine not generally associated with the ἀμπελουργός, and that is the role of vintner<sup>4</sup> and entrepreneur who makes contracts for the future delivery of wine. Most contracts of this kind simply give the name of the person (or persons) who have received the advanced payment and guarantee delivery without any indication of his occupation or role in the process. However, several late documents cite the maker of the contract for the future delivery of wine by name and by occupation as ἀμπελουργός. *P.Prag.* I 45.9 (521 A.D., Antinoopolis) has the ἀμπελουργός Aurelius Pathout as the seller in advance of 200 *kadoi* of wine, each *kados* holding six *xestai* of wine. Similarly, *BGU* XII 2207.4-5 (606 A.D., Hermopolis) and 2209.14 (614 A.D., Hermopolis) each name an ἀμπελουργός as contracting to provide, in one instance, 240 measures of wine, and, in another, 120 measures. In addition to wine, the ἀμπελουργός also sold bundles of reeds in contracts for future delivery. In *BGU* XII 2208 (614 A.D., Hermopolis) and 2210 (617 A.D., Hermopolis) such an individual contracts to deliver 134 bundles in the former and 400 in the latter, each bundle containing 50 reeds.

All told, the ἀμπελουργός was a highly skilled worker in the vineyard and the winery. He earned his keep when hired for a variety of operations in the vineyard, using the opportunity at times to earn additional income through leasing the produce of neighboring fruit-bearing trees. On other occasions the ἀμπελουργός can be seen as a vintner and entrepreneur selling wine and bundles of reeds on future contracts.<sup>5</sup> In effect, the ἀμπελουργός is a vineyard specialist, and that, perhaps, is how he should be called.

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12380 [III], and *P.Vind.Sal.* 8.25-6). What is surprising is that only one brief reference to treaders turns up in the Oxyrhynchus archive (*P.Oxy.* X 1340).

<sup>4</sup> There appears to be no common word in the documents for a person who makes wine or owns a winery.

<sup>5</sup> For his membership in a κοινὸν ἀμπελουργῶν, see A. Johnson and L. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 55, 63, 153.

## Notes on Five Non-Literary Latin Letters

All non-literary letters written wholly or partly in Latin published before the year 2000 have been collected by Paolo Cugusi in his *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum (CEL)*. The appearance in 2002 of volume III, with its indexes and concordances, has greatly facilitated the use of the first two volumes (published in 1992). The notes which follow, in effect no more than a "tidying-up exercise," concern a few points relating to what Cugusi has designated the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio* of the letters.<sup>1</sup>

Reproductions of many of the letters are to be found in *ChLA*;<sup>2</sup> but Cugusi's comprehensive survey makes it very clear that the decision to include there texts written on papyrus and parchment only, and to leave out those written on wooden tablets or ostraka, was a mistake, not least from a palaeographical point of view. Thus *ChLA* does not include *O.Bu Njem*, *Tab.Luguval.*, *Tab.Vindon.*, or *Tab.Vindol.*<sup>3</sup> Fortunately reproductions of most of these texts are to be found in the relevant volumes.

### (1) *CEL* I 82 = *ChLA* X 431

In view of the reference to the *legio III Cyrenaica*, which left Egypt in A.D. 119, Cugusi and Marichal assign the text to some date before then. Fragments of some 11 lines survive, but no connected sense is possible. *rogo [do]mine* in line 6 shows that we have a request of some sort. In *CEL* lines 1-4 read:

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<sup>1</sup> P. Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'epistolografia latina* (Roma 1983) 46.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* I-XLIX.

<sup>3</sup> Respectively R. Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem* (Tripoli 1992); R.S.O. Tomlin, "Roman Manuscripts from Carlisle," *Britannia* 29 (1998) 31-84; M.A. Speidel, *Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa* (Brugg 1996); A.K. Bowman, J.D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing-tablets. Tabulae Vindolandenses II and III* (London 1994, 2003).

*]/b · milit(e) · leg · III · C[yrenaicae*  
*sa[lutem*  
*] curat(or) · coh · II · Th[ebaeorum*  
*]xtern . vacat*

In line 6 the writer uses *domine* and so is likely to be of lower status than the addressee. In line 1, which is the first line of the letter as there is a blank space above, Marichal thinks we have the remains of the formula "To A from B *salutem*" and considers *b* to be the end of the name of the writer.<sup>4</sup> Cugusi suggests either *a]/b* with the name of the writer omitted, or that *]/b* is the end of the (abbreviated) name of the addressee; this would entail the expansion *milit(i)*. There would seem to me to be an alternative and more attractive possibility, namely that we have a reference to a *tribunus militum* (cf. *CEL* I 169). Since the writer seems to have been subordinate to the addressee and the *tribunus militum* of a legion was a high-ranking officer, if we do have a reference here to such an officer, he was no doubt the addressee, expanding *tri]/b(un)o milit(um)*. In such cases it was usual to put the name of the addressee first out of respect, but this custom may not yet have applied universally in a text of this relatively early date.<sup>5</sup>

It is also possible that we do have the name of the recipient put first and that the letter was being sent to a *tribunus* by the *curator* who occurs in line 3. The blank in the right-hand half of line 4 might be thought to support this. For the order of *salutem* we can compare *CEL* I 3 and 87, as well as some examples in the Bu Njem ostraka.<sup>6</sup> In line 4 Marichal reads *] . tern .*, commenting that the letter after the break might be *x* and the one after *tern* either *e* or *i* (but not *a* or *o*). If the letter is being sent by the *curator* in line 3, this could be the name of the century or *turma* to which he belonged. *terni* could easily be the end of the genitive of a personal name, though *x* before it (which is far from clear on the plate) is not

<sup>4</sup> *]/b* devrait donc être la dernière lettre du *cognomen* du soldat, abrégé?, car on conçoit difficilement une lettre collective: *ab milit(ibus)!*" He presumably rejects the formula "A to B *salutem*" because of the use of *domine*.

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion under (2) below, as well as Cugusi's comments on this text (*CEL* II, pp. 78-9).

<sup>6</sup> See *O.Bu Njem*, p. 58.

promising.<sup>7</sup> An alternative might be to reject the reading *sa[lutem]* in line 2: I see no sign of *s* and what follows could as easily be *n* as *a* in this hand. This suggests the possibility that the name and title of the addressee overran the first line, reading *C[lyre] n[ai]cae*, with the name of the writer coming at the start of line 3 and continuing into line 4. This, however, seems a less probable solution.

In line 3 Marichal leaves *Th[ ]* unrestored. Both a *cohors II Thracum* and a *cohors II Thebaeorum* are known from Egypt. Cugusi (*CEL* II, p. 79) rejects the restoration *Th[ ]racum* on the grounds that the unit is not attested in Egypt before the middle of the second century. However, both cohorts are attested as being in Egypt in a diploma of A.D. 105;<sup>8</sup> and there is reason to think that the *cohors II Thracum* was already there in the time of Domitian.<sup>9</sup> Therefore either restoration is possible in the present text.

(2) *CEL* I 158 = *O.Latopolis* 13

This ostrakon belongs to a collection of 14 ostraka, 12 in Greek and two in Latin, published by the late P.J.Sijpesteijn in *Talanta* 5 (1973) 72-84; the Latin texts are on pp. 82-4.<sup>10</sup> Some of the texts were subsequently commented on by Bagnall and Gilliam.<sup>11</sup> Sijpesteijn (p. 72) assigned the whole collection to "the middle of the second century" on palaeographical grounds.<sup>12</sup> As far as the two Latin ostraka are concerned, such a dating is entirely reasonable, though I should not wish to rule out altogether any dating between the early second and the early third centuries.<sup>13</sup> The text of

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<sup>7</sup> But *a* (suggesting, e.g., *Platerni*) does not seem to suit the trace.

<sup>8</sup> Margaret M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977* (London 1978), no. 9.

<sup>9</sup> See *P.Turner* 18, with the discussion in the introduction, and Richard Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London 1995) 184.

<sup>10</sup> The Greek texts, but not the Latin, are republished as *SB* XIV 11699, 12032-42.

<sup>11</sup> R.S. Bagnall, *BASP* 12 (1975) 135-44; J.F. Gilliam, *BASP* 13 (1976) 55-61 = *Roman Army Papers* (Amsterdam 1986) 379-85.

<sup>12</sup> Bagnall (p. 136) and Gilliam (p. 55) both agree with this dating.

<sup>13</sup> The periodical in question (*Talanta*) is not accessible to me, but Sijpesteijn kindly sent me an offprint, which was accompanied by photographs of all the



*O.Latopolis* 13 was substantially improved by Gilliam, all of whose readings, accepted in *CEL*, are confirmed by the photograph.<sup>14</sup>

The *inscriptio*, lines 1-2, reads:

*Domitio Respecto praefecto) suo*  
*Seuerus (centurio) salutem.*

Two points call for comment: the title *praefecto suo* and the placing of the name of the addressee first before that of the writer. As to the first point, Hélène Cuvigny has commented in a recent article on the comparative rarity of the use of personal pronouns or adjectives with Roman military titles. She remarks "L'adjonction d'un possessif à un grade ou un nom de fonction militaire romain est ... exceptionnelle," before quoting the dozen or so examples of which she is aware.<sup>15</sup> From the *inscriptiones* of letters she quotes only one Greek example, an unpublished ostrakon from Kainè Latomia, dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius;<sup>16</sup> in Latin she quotes *CEL* 158 = *O.Latopolis* 13 and a few examples in *O.Bu Njem*, which are addressed *praeposito meo*.<sup>17</sup> To these we may now add *Tab.Luguval.* 16 = *CEL* III 88bis 8, where the *inscriptio* reads

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texts. These bore the statement "These half-tones of fourteen ostraca are illustrations to P.J.Sijpesteijn's "Letters on Ostraca" published on pages 72 to 84 of Τάλαντα volume V, 1973. These illustrations were by an oversight not included in Volume V and we are now supplying them loose so that they can be inserted at the end of that volume." Nevertheless, it would appear from the remarks by Cugusi (*CEL* II 205, note to line 3) that he has been unable to see any reproductions (Bagnall was able to see the originals; Gilliam (p 56) says that Sijpesteijn "very kindly provided photographs").

<sup>14</sup> *Op.cit.* 59-61.

<sup>15</sup> *BIFAO* 102 (2002) 143-53; the quotation is from p. 144.

<sup>16</sup> *O.Ka.La.* Inv. 509, addressed to Νωρβανῶ τῷ τιμωτάτῳ μου (ἐκατοντάρχῃ) χαίριν; cf. also her remarks on the use of ἰδιoc as a substitute for the possessive adjective, with reference especially to *O.Krok.* I 81 and *RMR* 74 (pp. 143-4).

<sup>17</sup> Nos. 76-9, 84 and 103. The use of *meo* instead of the expected *suo* is remarkable; the only other example I have noted in non-literary letters is *CEL* I 166 = *P.Köln* III 160. The phenomenon occurs in letters in the correspondence of Fronto, see Cugusi, *Evoluzione*, 54-5, but it obviously did not become normal in Latin letters (in contrast to Greek), since it is not found in the fourth-century letters in Cugusi's collection.

*Dociliſ Augurino praefecto | suo ſaluſtem*.<sup>18</sup> In fact it is not surprising that there are so few examples in *inscriptiones*, since when nouns are used there as part of the description of the addressee, the noun is usually one of relationship, e.g. *patri*, or of comradeship, e.g. *contubernali*; most often the noun used is *fratri*, which could be an example of either. Alternatively we sometimes find a term of respect, nearly always *domino*. These nouns can all be used with or without an accompanying *suo*.<sup>19</sup> Aside from the ostraka from Bu Njem, where the use of a military title for the addressee is quite common, very few letters use such titles of the addressee in the *inscriptio*, even though most of our Latin letters come from a military context. Where a rank is mentioned, there is usually a special reason, e.g. we are dealing with a contract rather than a letter,<sup>20</sup> or a request to a superior.<sup>21</sup> When we do have genuine letters, most may well have been written between persons of equal rank, where the use of *praefecto* etc. would not be expected;<sup>22</sup> indeed, in his note on *Tab.Luguval.* 16.1 (p. 59) Tomlin goes so far as to assert that the address *praefecto suo* would be normal in a letter from a man to his commanding officer and argues that *Tab.Vindol.* II 263 should be restored *Ceriali praefecto suo* rather than *Ceriali suo*.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> It is very doubtful whether *CEL* III 217bis = *SB* XVIII 13851 = *ChLA* XLVII 1433 should be included in this category: Cugusi suggests *mag(istris) ſuſis*; the photograph is unclear, but the editors, who had recourse to the original, tentatively suggest *ſtationum* and do not consider the possibility of reading *ſuſis*.

<sup>19</sup> There are numerous examples in *CEL*. On the use of *suus* cf. Cugusi, *CEL* II, p. 10, *Evoluzione*, 48-51.

<sup>20</sup> Such texts as *CEL* I 13, 153-5, which record debts. Here *salutem* is used, but presumably this use is the same as that of *χαίρειν* in Greek, which frequently occurs in contracts.

<sup>21</sup> A good example is *CEL* I 149, in effect a petition; note the absence of *salutem* (similarly *χαίρειν* is omitted in petitions in Greek).

<sup>22</sup> This is no doubt true of many of the letters in the Vindolanda material (cf. the next note). An exception, apart from the examples discussed in the text, is *CEL* I 169, where a military title is used of both the writer and the addressee (and, exceptionally, the writer uses *suo* of himself); cf. also *CEL* I 231-3; III 140bis.

<sup>23</sup> This may be so, although there is no sure example of a military title used of an addressee in an *inscriptio* from Vindolanda (curiously, there is one example,

It is also of interest that this ostrakon puts the name of the addressee first, out of respect. This is an early example of a feature which did not become the norm until the third century, although it is found occasionally from the mid second century onwards.<sup>24</sup> There is no example of this feature, so far as one can see, in the tablets from Vindolanda or Carlisle, all no doubt earlier than *O.Latopolis* 13; and it is noteworthy that in *Tab.Luguval.* 16, which is otherwise comparable to *O.Latopolis* 13, the name of the writer is put first even though he is inferior in rank. In *CEL* I, opposite p. 20, Cugusi produces a table listing the various formulas found in *inscriptionses*. Of the types *alicui aliquis* or *alicui ab aliquo* he records six possible examples prior to the third century:<sup>25</sup> *CEL* I 2 (recorded under both heads), 82 (marked with a query), (149), 158, 169 and 174 (also marked with a query). *CEL* 2, dated to the later first century, is a writing exercise which is hardly a convincing example of either formula. *CEL* 149 is a petition rather than a letter, as Cugusi's brackets are no doubt intended to indicate.<sup>26</sup> *CEL* 174 is fragmentary and uncertain. *CEL* 82 is not necessarily an example of either of these types (see (1) above); if it is, it is the earliest example in the non-literary material. If it is not, the earliest clear examples are *CEL* 158 = *O.Latopolis* 13 and *CEL* 169, both of which may well date from the middle or later second century.<sup>27</sup>

### (3) *CEL* I 159 = *O.Latopolis* 14

The remains of the *inscriptio* (line 1 of the extant text) are given in the edition and repeated in *CEL* thus:<sup>28</sup>

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*Tab.Vindol.* II 214, where the writer uses his military title in the *inscriptio*, while referring to his addressee as *fraterclo suo*).

<sup>24</sup> See Cugusi, *Evoluzione*, 54-6.

<sup>25</sup> *CEL* III, p. 13, does not add any examples earlier than *O.Bu Njem* (mid third century).

<sup>26</sup> See also n.21 above. Cf. Hannah Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation in Latin from the Roman Empire*. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 132 (Königstein/Ts., A. Hain, 1981) 17: "the formula "To B from A greetings" is common in official letters and petitions, but not in familiar letters."

<sup>27</sup> On the palaeography of *CEL* 169 = *P.Oxy.* I 32 = *ChLA* IV 267 see in particular B.Breveglieri, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 9 (1985) 50-2.

<sup>28</sup> Gilliam, *op.cit.* 61, does not comment on this line.

] sꝛo[sa]l(utem)

On the photograph all that is clear is the lower half of an *s*, which is the first extant letter, and later the lower half of an *l*. The *l* in this position must be, as Sijpesteijn and Cugusi suggest, from *salutem* (abbreviated). The *s* seems to me to be followed by a space (I see no trace of the supposed *u*) and I suggest it could well be the end of a name in the nominative. After the space there is a loop which may be *o* but which could just as easily be the lower half of *d* in this hand. If this is right, the line should perhaps read (if there is sufficient space):

]s d[ec(urio) sa]l(utem)<sup>29</sup>

In which case the name of the addressee will have come first, the format being the same as in (2) above. The ostrakon is broken at the top and a line could easily have been lost.

The *subscriptio*, lines 4-5, is given in *CEL* as:

opto te domine] bene ual(ere)  
multis anni]s

In line 4 the supplement is proposed by Cugusi; the *ed.pr.* has only ] *bene ual(ere)*. Gilliam read *bene uale* (not *bene ual(e)* as reported in the note to *CEL*). This is the correct reading; *u* is no more than a shallow *v* ligatured to the left-hand diagonal of *a*; the right-hand diagonal of *a* is very short and ligatured to the top of *l*; final *e* is clear. Cugusi prints alongside line 4 "*manus II?*", no doubt based on Gilliam's comment.<sup>30</sup> It is certain that this and the next line are in a second hand. The supplement in line 5 is again that of Cugusi; Sijpesteijn read simply ], commenting "only the end of a horizontal line; part of the letter *s* of the formula *te opto multis anni]s?*" (Gilliam offers no comment). It is unclear what this horizontal line represents, if indeed it is ink, but it does not look at all like part of *s*. Nothing is needed: *bene uale(te)* is sufficient by itself for a *subscriptio*; in addition to Gilliam's examples and those cited in *CEL* II,

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<sup>29</sup> A *decurio* occurs in one of the Greek ostraka in this series, *O.Latopolis* 12 = *SB* XIV 12042.

<sup>30</sup> Gilliam, *loc.cit.*, remarks on the competence of the hand responsible for lines 1-3 and suggests the letter was written for an officer by a well-trained secretary, with the officer adding the final greeting in his own hand (as was the norm).

p. 346 (note to l.10), see *Tab.Vindol.* II 210.4 and *CEL* III 149bis = *O.Claud.* 2.

(4) *CEL* I 173 = *P.Stras.* I 36 = *ChLA* XIX 686

A fragment from the start of a letter, written on the front of a papyrus subsequently cut down to be used for a Greek document on the back (*P.Stras.* I 37). Preisigke, in the *ed.pr.*, dated both front and back to the third century. Marichal and Cugusi prefer the second century for the Latin text and this seems more likely.

Line 1: *domi]nó fratri s(alutem) d(icit)*

Cugusi's reading follows that of Marichal in *ChLA*. Preisigke read *Jrió* before *fratri*. There is little doubt that *Jno* is a better reading, but the restoration *domi]no* is without sufficient justification. Although the phrase *domine frater* is common in *subscriptio*nes,<sup>31</sup> this would be the only example of *domino fratri* in an *inscriptio* in *CEL*. In Greek non-literary letters *κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ* is frequent from the fourth century onwards (by when the name of the addressee was usually put first), but is almost unknown before then. The main reason, however, for regarding the supplement *domi]no* as unjustified (though not impossible) is that there are scores of Latin names ending *-nus* and it is most likely that it is a dative of such a name which we have here.<sup>32</sup> *Jno* should be left un-restored, as in, e.g., *Tab.Vindol.* II 520 and III 649.

(5) *CEL* I 228 = *P.Gen.* I 62 = *P.Abinn.* 16 = *ChLA* I 6

*CEL* records only the Latin *subscriptio* to this Greek letter, reading:

*et te per multos annos  
opto bene ualere*

All the editions agree with the reading given above for the first line (line 19 of the letter), but this is certainly wrong. As Tjäder

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Cugusi's remarks, *CEL* II, p. 94 (foot).

<sup>32</sup> Cf., e.g., *CEL* I 140, addressed to *Cjelsiano suo*; and for a name followed by *fratri salutem* cf., e.g., *CEL* I 73: *Pompeio fratri salutem*.

suggested,<sup>33</sup> the first word in the Latin is not *et* but the normal word *opto*: there is a large *O* with *p* written partly inside it, followed by *t* with a small *o* ligatured to it.<sup>34</sup> The plate suggests some difficulty in reading *per* before *multos annos*, although this is what we should expect.<sup>35</sup> Paul Schubert has been kind enough to check the original for me and to confirm the reading *per*. He comments that *p* and *e* pose no problem and that *r* is compatible with the traces remaining.<sup>36</sup>

For the second line (line 20) *P.Gen.* I 62 has *bene ualere*, *P.Abinn.* 16 *be[n]e ualere*, and *ChLA* 6 *bene ualere* preceded by five dots. *opto* before this is a suggestion of Cugusi's, based on the reading of dots in *ChLA*. There is nothing to justify these dots, so far as I can see, on the plate or the digital image.<sup>37</sup> Now that we can see that *opto* is to be read in its normal position at the start of the greeting, it is no longer required in this line.

These points need to be stressed, since, while Tjäder's suggested reading is quoted in *Berichtigungsliste* VIII 1, in *Berichtigungsliste* X 2 (both references *ad P.Abinn.* 16) it is stated that "Das Lateinische ist zu lesen: *et te per multos annos | opto bene ualere* (damit entfällt B.L. 8, S.1)." On the contrary, it is the suggestion in *BL* VIII which is correct and that in *BL* X which is to be rejected.

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<sup>33</sup> *Scrittura e Civiltà* 6 (1982) 11 n. 13: "I think the 1st word is *Opto*, not *Et*."

<sup>34</sup> I am grateful to Paul Schubert for letting me see a digital image of this text, which is somewhat clearer than the plate in *ChLA*. *Opto* is a very clear reading (only *p* is at all doubtful).

<sup>35</sup> The expression is paralleled in *CEL* I 225bis.

<sup>36</sup> Again, I have been able to verify this from the digital image. I read *per*.

<sup>37</sup> One of the supposed traces is no doubt the descender of *p* in *opto*. I should read after this *be[n]e*, as in *P.Abinn.* 16, since I can see no surviving trace of *n*.

## Strategus, Centurion, or Neither: *BGU* I 321 and 322 (= *M.Chrest.* 114 and 124) and Their Duplicates

Early in April 216 Aurelios Pakysis son of Tesenouphis had returned home to Soknopaiou Nesos from a trip to Alexandria to be met with an unpleasant piece of news. During his absence there had been a break-in. Fortunately it was not his own house which had been broken into, but a "place" (τόπος)<sup>1</sup> which Pakysis kept for storing grain on the upper floor of his daughter-in-law's house in the hamlet of Pisaïs across Lake Moeris in the neighbouring Themistos meris. His relatives had gone over there sometime earlier, presumably to get some of the grain for family use while Pakysis himself was still absent in Alexandria, and they had found that the grain stored there had been "lightened" to the amount of seven artabas. It was obvious straightaway how the theft had taken place as well as who the culprits were. A hole had been made through the floor from below, and when they were confronted with the evidence, the tenants living there had agreed in the presence of the village archephodos and several of the other villagers that they would make restitution of the seven artabas of grain.

Hardly the crime of the century. Yet Pakysis was outraged. We may guess that as priest and stolistes of the temple "of the first rank" (λόγιμον) of Sobek in his community, he was the sort of man to be very conscious of his own position and importance<sup>2</sup> and accordingly the sort of man who would be more likely to take such a theft as a personal insult. A few days passed<sup>3</sup> but by 7 April the culprits had still failed to make good on their promise of restitution.

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<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of τόπος, often as general as "place" in English, see G. Husson, *OIKIA* (Paris 1983) 276-8.

<sup>2</sup> A. Lukaszewicz, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 132, suggests that Pakysis' visit to Alexandria may have been to attend the ceremonies in honour of Caracalla.

<sup>3</sup> Taking πρόην (*BGU* I 321.8 below) in a vague rather than an exact sense.

So Pakysis approached a scribe for assistance, presumably one of several in the village who were skilled in writing Greek and in dealing with the local Graeco-Roman bureaucracy. The scribe he chose was a highly competent professional as we can judge today not only from his practised hand but also his formal and legalistic turn of phrase. His handwriting has in fact earned him a well deserved place in Schubart's *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*.<sup>4</sup> The upshot was that by the end of the day this scribe would have written not one but at least four papyri for Pakysis, who would then sign them all in his "slow writer's" hand—a hand which contrasts markedly with the quick, confident handwriting of the body of the text and which contains one error of case and one variant phonetic spelling in the space of only three words.

One of these documents was a petition to the strategus Aurelios Didymos of the merides of Themistos and Polemon. This was published by Wilcken as *BGU* I 321 and subsequently taken up as *M.Chrest.* 114. I reproduce Wilcken's text below, with a translation:

- Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ στρατηγῷ Ἀρσινοιδῶν Θεμιστοῦ καὶ  
 Πολέμωνος μερίδων  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πακύσεως Τεκενούφειος ἱερέως  
 καὶ στολιστοῦ ἱεροῦ λογίμου κόμης Σοκνοπαί-  
 ου Νήσου τῆς Ἡρακλίδου μερίδος. ἔχω τόπον  
 5 ἐν οἰκίᾳ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Αὐρηλίου Τεκενού-  
 φειος γυναικὸς ἐν ἐποικίᾳ Πισαῖ τῆς Θεμιστοῦ  
 μερίδος, ἐν ᾗ ἔστιν μου τὰ εἰς διατροφὴν  
 ἀποκείμενα σείτάρια (sic). πρώην οὖν εἰς  
 τὸν τόπον εἰσελθόντων τῶν οἰκείων  
 10 μου διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εἶναι, ἐφευ-  
 ρέθη τὰ σείτάρια κεκουφισμένα, ἡ δὲ αἰτία  
 τῆς κλοπῆς ἐφάνη τοῦ τόπου ὑπερῶς ὄν-  
 τος ἐκ τοῦ ποδώματος διατρηθέντος τὴν

<sup>4</sup> W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (Bonn 1911) pl. 34b (plate of P.Berol. 7081 recto), reprinted by B. Mandilaras, *Πάπυροι καὶ Παπυρολογία*, (Athens 1980) pl. 53 = (Athens 1994<sup>2</sup>) pl. 55.



- κακουργίαν γεγονέναι. διελεγχόμενοι δὲ  
 15 οἱ ἔνδον οἰκοῦντες ὥς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπηρείας  
 τοῦτο γεγένηται ὑπέσχοντο διὰ τε τοῦ τῆς  
 κώμης ἀρχεφόδου καὶ διὰ ἄλλων δώσειν  
 εἰς τὸν λόγον τῆς κλοπῆς πυροῦ ἀρτάβας  
 ἑπτὰ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῇ μὲν ὑποσχέσει συνέ-  
 20 θεντο, τῇ δὲ ἀποδόσει μέχρι νῦν οὐχ' (sic) ὑ-  
 πήντησαν, ἀναγκάως τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν  
 βιβλιδίων ποιουμαι, ἅπερ ἄξιῳ ἐν καταχω-  
 ρισμῷ γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ μένειν μοι λόγον  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους Πανοῦφιν Στο-  
 25 τοίτηως καὶ Πακῦσιν Καννεῖτος. διευτύχει.  
 (m. 2) Αὐρηλίου (sic) Πακῦς ἐπιδέδοκα (sic)  
 (m. 1) (ἔτους) κδ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου  
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρεντανικοῦ (sic) Μεγίστου  
 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 30 Φα(ρμουθι) ιβ.

"To Aurelios Didymos strategus of the merides of Themistos and Polemon of the Arsinoite from Aurelios Pakysis son of Tese-nouphis, priest and stolistes of the temple of the first rank of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos of the meris of Herakleides. I possess a place in the house of the wife of my son Aurelios Tesenouphis in the hamlet of Pisaïs in the meris of Themistos in which I keep in stor-age foodstuffs for our daily use. Just lately my relatives went into the place because I myself was away in Alexandria and it was dis-covered that the foodstuffs had been pilfered. The cause of the theft, as was clear, was that the crime had been committed when the place, which is on the upper floor, had been holed through the floor. When those who are living there were proved to have done this through malice aforethought, they undertook in the presence of both the archephodos of the village and others to give me seven artabas of grain against the amount of the theft. But since they have agreed to the undertaking but up until now have not complied with the restitution, of necessity I am making submission of a peti-

tion which I request be placed on record, so that my rights be secured for me against the accused, Panouphis son of Stotoetis and Pakysis son of Kanneis. Farewell."

(2<sup>nd</sup> hand) "I, Aureliou (sic) Pakysis, have submitted the petition."

(1<sup>st</sup> hand) "Year 24 of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, Pharmouthi 12."

According to Wilcken's note the scribe also made a duplicate copy of this text which survives as P.Berol. inv. 7081 recto. This copy is exactly the same as *BGU* I 321 in all except three very minor details. Pakysis also signed this. Now it is not unusual to find a duplicate copy being made of a petition, but to find both copies signed by the petitioner himself is much less common. In his recent list of duplicate papyri<sup>5</sup> Nielsen recorded 337 examples of papyri (apart from edicts and the like) existing in more than one copy, including 49 examples of petitions. Of the latter there are only 6 (at most 7) examples in which both copies have been signed by the petitioner.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps Pakysis felt that by writing out his own signature

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<sup>5</sup> B.E. Nielsen, *ZPE* 129 (2000) 187-214.

<sup>6</sup> Duplicate petitions are as follows in Nielsen's numbering (*op.cit.*):

#7 *BGU* I 321 — P.Berol. inv. 7081; same scribe, signature by same second hand.

#8 *BGU* I 322 — *P.Louvre* I 3; same scribe, signature by same second hand.

#76 *P.Euphr.* 3-4 ; same scribe, signature by same second hand. Not from Egypt.

#151 *P.Mich.* VI 423-4; same scribe, signature by same second hand, date by same (?) third hand.

#194 *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2672; different scribes but signature by same second hand.

#246 *P.Stras.* VIII 714-5; different scribes (?) but signature by same second hand.

#296 *SB* IV 7464 (?); 3 copies, no information about hands. Perhaps not to be included.

Rather more to be expected are examples such as, e.g., (#100) *P.Heid.* IV 324 - *P.Amh.* II 81, where the signature has been copied by the first hand, clearly indicating that *P.Heid.* IV 324 is the file copy.

again he could give the document and therefore his case a certain validity which it might lack if his name had only been copied by the scribe. Or perhaps, as will be argued, he wanted to show Panouphis and Pakysis son of Kanneis the signed duplicate to impress upon them the seriousness of the case and his own determination to proceed against them to the full extent of the law, and even beyond.

At the same time as Pakysis was getting the scribe to write his petition to the strategus, he also had another petition written about the same matter, addressed this time to a centurion, Aurelius Calvisius Maximus. This too is preserved in two copies as *BGU I 322* = *M.Chrest.* 124 and *P.Louvre I 3* = *SB I 6*, both of them also signed in the same way by Pakysis. Again they are exactly the same as each other, apart from minor details.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, apart from the change of addressee they are exactly the same as *BGU I 321* word for word as far as ὑπήντησαν in line 22 (line 21 in *BGU I 321*). At this point *BGU I 322* - *P.Louvre I 3* continue:

ἀναγκαίως τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυ-  
γὴν ποιῶμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ ἀχθῆναι τοὺς ἐν-  
καλουμένους Πανοῦφιν Στοτοήτεωσ  
25 καὶ Πακῦσιν Καννεῖτος πρὸς τὸ ἐκ τῆς σῆς  
ἐξουσίας δυνηθῆναί με ἀντὶ πλειόνων  
τῶν κλεπόντων τὰς σταθείας μοι πυροῦ  
ἀρτάβας ἑπτὰ ἀπολαβεῖν. διευτύχει.

"... of necessity I seek refuge with you and request that the accused, Panouphis son of Stotoetes and Pakysis son of Kanneis, be brought that through your authority I may be enabled to get back the seven artabas of grain as granted to me in place of the more which have been stolen. Farewell."

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<sup>7</sup> The most significant divergences are that *P.Louvre I 3.11* has οὐχ εὐρέθη for ἐφευρέθη of *BGU I 322.11*, ἀντὶ πλειόνων in line 28 in place of Krebs' and Wilcken's suggested restoration ἀντὶ [τῶν ?] ὄνων in *BGU I 322.26* and μοι in 29 for μου in *BGU I 322.27*.

The text then concludes with Aurelios Pakysis' signature, with the same mistakes, followed by the regnal year and month date written by the scribe.

Since these documents were first published, there has been a great deal of discussion about the role of the centurion, as opposed to the strategus, in the reception and adjudication of petitions. These discussions, which have recently been admirably summarised by Peachin,<sup>8</sup> have proceeded along two paths. The first (Mitteis, Mommsen, Meyer) has attempted to isolate any judicial competence which the centurion may have had by investigating the language of the petitions addressed to him. The other (Taubenschlag, MacMullen, Davies, Aubert, Alston) has investigated the type of complaints made to the centurion and the type of people who made them, in an effort to define his function primarily in terms of investigative police activity. Peachin himself, after considering a selection of the petitions to centurions which seem to show best the petitioner's intention to get a settlement via adjudication or arbitration, has concluded that "informal adjudication by soldiers is not demonstrated with absolute clarity by the extant papyri" and that the documents "sometimes indicate that civilians wanted soldiers to undertake *cognitio*, and the military men might sometimes have acquiesced. But no extant document proves that a soldier sat as judge—that is, unless he had been properly assigned by a higher authority as *iudex datus*" (p.18).

These conclusions are supported, I believe, by the evidence of the duplicate copies of *BGU* I 321 and 322, which are mentioned by Peachin only in his note 33. If there is anywhere where we should be able to put our finger on the differing expectation(s) a petitioner might have had in regard to the centurion vis à vis the strategus, then it is surely here in the case of *BGU* I 321 and 322, where both petitions were written on the same day about the same matter by the same scribe for the same complainant. Yet it seems difficult to do so. The only clear difference is that *BGU* I 321.21-3 requests the

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<sup>8</sup> M. Peachin, "A Petition to a Centurion From the NYU Papyrus Collection and the Question of Informal Adjudication Performed by Soldiers," in A.E. Hanson (ed.), *Miscellanea in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn*. *Am.Stud.Pap.* (forthcoming as *P.Sijp.* 15). I am most grateful to Professor Peachin for a pre-publication copy of his paper; page references are those of this copy.

strategus to receive and put on record the petition about the theft. This would be the first step towards accessing the civil judicial system, opening the way to although not actually yet initiating the process known as παραγγελία, *litis denuntiatio*, whereby the complainant would request the strategus to order a copy of his complaint to be delivered to the other party with a summons to attend the prefect's conventus at a given time so that the dispute might be settled.<sup>9</sup>

In BGU I 322 on the other hand Pakysis makes no reference to any initial petition. Instead he asks for the direct intervention of the centurion to bring the accused before him and compel them to make restitution. Yet while this request is very specific, the language in which it is expressed, although portentous and legalistic, is rather vague. The formula ἄξιῳ ἀχθῆναι which is used here is a common one in petitions, found mostly addressed to the strategus but also to other officials including often the centurion. But here it occurs in a much abbreviated form. The evidence of most other examples shows that it was customary for the complainant to refer first to the petition which he was submitting before going on to ask that the official bring the accused before him. Here the only reference to a petition occurs implicitly in the ἐπιδέδοκα of Pakysis' signature (line 29).

This impression of ponderously legalistic vagueness is reinforced by the scribe's subsequent use of the awkward πρὸς τὸ δυνηθῆναί με construction with its explanatory infinitive ἀπολαβεῖν hanging off the end of the sentence. There is also the use of the phrase ἐκ τῆς αἰῆς ἐξουσίας. The word is apt since ἐξουσία translates Latin *potestas*, a quality which centurions certainly had *de iure* in a military context and *de facto* outside it. But in this period the phrase itself is otherwise found only of higher officials, such as the prefect (*P.Turner* 44.15) or the archidicastes (*BGU* VII 1574.19; *M.Chrest.* 247.20), or the *praeses* (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1876.3; 1878.4) or bishops (*P.Münch.* III 131.5) in later times. The unavoidable conclusion is that Pakysis and his scribe are out to impress with this type of language. But who is it they are trying to impress? Are they trying to flatter the centurion into taking immediate action, how-

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<sup>9</sup> For references see *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2852 introd.

ever *ultra vires*? Or is their intention rather to frighten the offenders into caving in and making a speedy settlement before the matter gets beyond their control?

Peachin has spoken of *BGU* I 321 and 322 as "two separate but complementary steps in a procedure that is moving towards a final solution of the matter" (n. 33), but they may also be viewed as two separate and distinct approaches to Pakysis' problem. Pakysis would initially show the thieves that he was determined to undertake a civil action against them for restitution of the stolen grain. Then, if this failed to make them see sense, he intended to frighten them into making good on their promise of restitution by making vague but impressive sounding threats about appealing to someone (the centurion) who had no civil authority but who by virtue of his rank and position had such immense power that he could make their lives a misery should he decide to take an unofficial interest in the matter.

It appears, however, that it eventually proved unnecessary to submit either petition. It seems that it was enough for Pakysis to show them to Panouphis and the other Pakysis, or perhaps enough just to let them know of the existence of the petitions. There are several reasons for believing this:

(1) Pakysis' signature on both copies of these petitions may indicate that he intended to send them, but it is not enough in itself to prove that they were sent. Unless a petition bears some mark of its reception in the form either of an annotation by a clerk in the office of the addressee or a subscription by the addressee himself adjudicating, delegating, or authorising further action on the matter,<sup>10</sup> we can never know whether it was ever submitted, let alone acted upon. *BGU* I 321, 322 and their duplicates have no such mark.

(2) Logic suggests that, given the cost of the materials (especially the large format papyrus favoured for petitions, which was used here) and the scribe's labour, petitioners as a rule would have resisted any scribal attempts at over-servicing and had as few copies made as possible. That bare minimum has to be two—one signed

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<sup>10</sup> Fundamental is R. Haensch, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487-546, with Appendices listing petitions with these different types of annotation.

copy for the addressee and one file copy which did not need signature. In cases where as here we find two copies which have both been signed, then one or the other is likely to be the original copy which was never sent. It is unlikely to have been a third copy which was sent.<sup>11</sup>

(3) We can now be fairly sure that Pakysis did not send off any of these papyri. Instead he kept all four texts and reused the versos for his in-house financial accounts. When A. Jördens republished *SB* I 6 as *P.Louvre* I 3, she also published the verso as *P.Louvre* I 50. This contains a money account headed λόγος Πακύσιος λη(μμάτων) recording payments and receipts from 30 Payni = 24 June<sup>12</sup> up to 3 Epagomenai = 26 August, perhaps of the same year 216. This account is clearly in the same hand as Pakysis' signature on the recto. Jördens also found that there were several other accounts in the same hand (*P.Louvre* I 48-65), constituting the beginnings of a new archive, "Das 'Archiv' des Gutsverwalters Pakysis."<sup>13</sup>

This suggested to me that the other copies of the petitions (*BGU* I 321, 322 and *P.Berol. inv.* 7081) might also have been reused in the same way. G. Poethke, after kindly inspecting the originals in the Berlin collection, has confirmed that this is indeed the case.<sup>14</sup> All these papyri were subsequently turned over and reused by Pakysis for his accounts. The conclusion has to be that none of the pe-

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<sup>11</sup> Although C.A. Nelson, *BGU* XV 2458 introd., states that at least three copies of a petition would have been needed (one for the official petitioned, one file copy for the petitioner, and one to be served on the accused to inform him that action was being taken against him), it is doubtful that the complainant was expected to serve a notice personally.

<sup>12</sup> Not 24 July as *P.Louvre* I 50 introd. and 2 n.

<sup>13</sup> On the Pakysis archive see now A. Jördens, "Papyri und private Archive. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur papyrologischen Terminologie," in E. Cantarella and G. Thür (eds.), *Symposion 1997. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Köln 2001) 253-68.

<sup>14</sup> By letter 12 June 2003: "Die Verso-Seiten dieser drei Texte sind von derselben Hand mit Aufstellungen über Geldbeträge, jedoch kopfstehend zum Text der Rekto-Seiten, wie *P.Louvre* I 50 beschrieben. Es ist dieselbe krakelige 2.Hand der Rekto-Seiten. Also gehören diese Texte ebenfalls zu den Akten des Pakysis."

titions was ever submitted. In fact none of them ever left Soknopaiou Nesos.

On a related question, the similar dimensions given for all four papyri<sup>15</sup> suggested that they might all have been cut from the same roll and that it might therefore be possible to determine the order in which they were written. Once again I am indebted to G. Poethke for confirming from autopsy that most probably they do indeed all come from the same roll. The run of the fibres suggests that they were written in the following order: *BGU* I 321 + *P. Berol. inv. 7081* (+) *P. Louvre* I 3 + *BGU* I 322.<sup>16</sup>

The most likely scenario therefore seems to be that Pakysis had *BGU* I 321 and its duplicate written first because his first thought was to force the thieves into making the promised restitution by threatening them with civil action. Then, on the further advice of the scribe, who was no doubt not averse to generating a bit of extra income for himself,<sup>17</sup> he decided to turn the screws tighter by adding the further threat of eliciting help from the centurion. The centurion was someone who might (or might not) choose to involve himself in a civilian's problem, with unforeseen but certainly unpleasant consequences.<sup>18</sup> To this end he had *P. Louvre* I 3 written, together with its duplicate *BGU* I 322, and had it shown to the thieves. At this point the thieves no doubt came to their senses. They presumably loaded up the nearest pack animals with seven artabas of grain and brought it round to Pakysis' daughter-in-law's door before the end of the day. Pakysis of course still had the civil procedure to fall back on and his first petition ready prepared for despatch to the strategus' office. In the event neither petition was needed. Certainly Pakysis' problem with Panouphis and Pakysis

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<sup>15</sup> 22-22.5 cm. H x 11.5-12.5 cm. W.

<sup>16</sup> As n. 14 above: "Ich glaube dass die vier Texte von derselben Rolle stammen. Wenn ich nach der Faserung des Papyrus und der Form des Randes urteile, ergibt sich folgende Reihung der Texte der Rekto-Seiten."

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kinta Beevor, *A Tuscan Childhood* (Penguin ed., London 1995) 57: "The local letter-writer did not miss the opportunity to set up his tent: he increased his charge when asked to compose love-letters, and there was a further supplement for verses."

<sup>18</sup> In *BGU* VII 1676 a petitioner who approached a centurion for help in a dispute found himself put in prison to wait for the assignment of a judge.



son of Kanneis must have been sorted out satisfactorily by the end of Payni that year if he was able to make use of the verso of P. *Louvre* I 3 for writing up his accounts for that month.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> I owe especial thanks to Guido Bastianini for use of the resources of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli', to Rosario Pintaudi for his hospitality in Florence and the use of the facilities of the Accademia Fiorentina di Papirologia e di Studi sul Mondo Antico, to Günther Poethke for checking the Berlin texts for me, and to Andrea Jördens for e-mail correspondence about these texts.

## Women's Things and Men's Things: Notes on Gender and Property at Jeme

The present article is a miscellany of notes relating to individual texts cited and translated in my recent book *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*.<sup>1</sup> In most cases, these notes provide justifications for readings or translations given in *Women of Jeme* that could not be accommodated in the footnotes of that monograph. The common theme is that the texts relate to gender and, more specifically, most have to do with moveable property or money in gendered contexts. We are fortunate in that the excavation of the site of Jeme, in the area of Thebes in Upper Egypt, uncovered a wide range of the kinds of personal property mentioned or implied in the Jeme texts, but this material is still not completely published. Because of their general relevance to the subject of these notes, I include as an appendix some notes on unpublished artifacts from Jeme that featured in an exhibition that I curated for the Oriental Institute Museum in 1990. Certainly the issue of gendered property at Jeme is one that would greatly repay further investigation.

### 1. *P.KRU* 76.38-41: "women's things" and "men's things"

The most explicit statement of an idea of gendered property in the Jeme documentation occurs in the will of Susanna (*P.KRU* 76), where she explicitly refers to and lists "my women's things" (ΝΔΕΙΔΟC ΝCΞΙΜΕ), which she bequeaths to her granddaughters, contrasting

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<sup>1</sup> In the series "New Texts from Ancient Cultures," published in Ann Arbor by University of Michigan Press, 2002. My thanks to Traianos Gagos for agreeing to consider this article for *BASP*, the venue in which I published my first work on the Jeme texts. Thanks also to Dominic Montserrat and Emily Teeter for valuable help and suggestions. Abbreviations follow *Checklist* with the following addition: OIM = Oriental Institute Museum.

them with "their men's things" (ΝΕΥΕΙΑΔΟC ΝΕΖΟΥΥΤ, "their" presumably referring to the intended recipients) left to her grandsons. There is certainly much further research that could be done with these two categories of property—the women's things consist of women's clothing and cooking vessels while the reference to the men's things is followed by a listing of lamps, boxes, buckets, utensils (although it is not entirely clear whether these latter are actually the men's things or are in addition to them). Comparison of the disposition of property in this will with the related document *P.KRU* 66 may well suggest further lines of inquiry. For the purposes of the present note, however, I only intend to explain my translation of some of the more uncertain items (*Women of Jeme*, p. 135). In her will, Susanna characterizes her "women's things" as: "the dyed women's dresses (ΝΖΟΙΤΕ ΝΔΗΚΕ), my colored mantle (ΝΔΕΡΩΩΝ ΝΔΗΚΕ), an item of clothing (ΟΥΜΙΔΚΕ), my headscarves (?) (reading ΝΔ(ΜΔ)ΡΔΩΔΕ), a kettle (?) (ΟΥΕΚΤΕ) and all women's things" (*KRU* 76.38ff.).

Of queried items in this list, ΜΙΔΚΕ is well-known from lists of women's clothing and is most likely a dress of some sort, but presumably different from a ΖΟΙΤΕ. It appears generically often enough, though, that it could be translated simply as "dress" (see below, note on *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 5) and may well be a generic term for a plain dress, as opposed to a dyed one. The writing of the next item appears to be defective: there may be some confusion between the possessive article ΝΔ- and the ΜΔ- that begins the word, but it seems clear that this item must be the relatively well-attested ΜΔΡΔΟΟΔΕ. This is a textile item, but Crum, *Dict.* 184a-b does not translate it. It appears in a list among non-clothing items in *O.CrumCO* 472 and, in a text quoted by Crum, effeminate monks are said to wear "some stoles knotted in the manner of these ΜΔΡΔΟΟΔΕ of women." ΜΔΡ- is probably from ΜΟΥΡ "to bind," and ΔΟΟΔΕ is probably "head," hence the likely translation. Finally, ΕΚΤΕ is uncertain: it is made of metal, kept in a house and can contain cooking fat (Crum, *Dict.* 54b). Prof. Edward F. Wente suggested to me that this may well be derived from Egyptian *ktw.t* "cauldron," which would well fit the

known properties of this item and would correspond to the kind of metal kettles or cauldrons found at Jeme.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 87:1

Contrary to Hall's interpretation of this text in his *editio princeps* as a record of the woman Tsarbenis making repayments on loans she contracted from various lenders, this text is clearly Tsarbenis' own register of payments made on loans due to her from various borrowers. This text would greatly benefit from an overall reedition, but from Hall's facsimile, at least the following improvement can be made. The interlinear interpolation between lines 9 and 10  $\varrho\overline{\text{PN}} \Delta\text{P}\overline{\text{WN}}$  should be read after line 9 rather than line 10 to give the usual formula  $\text{NN}\Delta\varrho\overline{\text{PN}} \Delta\text{P}\overline{\text{WN}}$  for the eponymous official under whom the loan was made.

## 3. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 5

This ostrakon contains two lists of items, one belonging to the writer's father and the other to a woman named Sabek, that figure in a property settlement between this Sabek and the writer's sister. These lists provide an unusually detailed listing of personal property to be found in the possession of Jeme inhabitants. One wonders whether the list of the property from the father (consisting mostly of decorative items and household tools and furnishings) and those of Sabek (which include more clothing items) reflect gendered trends in personal property noted above. Each list contains some items that are difficult to identify; my translation in *Women of Jeme* (pp. 136-7) varies in a number of respects from that of the editors and I note the justifications for my translation here.

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<sup>2</sup> Five examples are described by Uvo Hölscher, *Excavations at Medinet Habu V: The Post-Ramessid Remains*, Oriental Institute Publications 66 (Chicago 1954) 63 and pl. 38.

I:1 "Two keys": the editors translate as "carvings," presumably reading  $\omega\theta\tau\omega\tau$ , but the word is in fact  $\omega\theta\omega\tau$ , which is well-attested as "key" (Crum, *Dict.* 608b).

I:8 "One bronze figure":  $\epsilon\epsilon\omega\eta\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\rho\omega\tau$  here and  $\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\rho\omega\tau$  in II:14, both nonstandard writings for  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\eta$ ; see now Förster *WB*, which only includes  $\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon$  from the present text, but  $\epsilon$  for  $\kappa$  is common in documentary texts. The original editors clearly envisage these as devotional "icons," but they are more likely to be decorative items like the "lion of bronze" in I:9.

I:10 "One strainer": the original editors translate as simply "vessel," but from the examples cited in Crum, *Dict.* 184a, "strainer" seems the most likely identification here.

I:14 "One chain (?)":  $\lambda\beta\epsilon$ , which is left untranslated in the original edition and in Crum, *Dict.* 2a, which cites an example from a letter (*O.CrumST* 389) of a man in prison, who was released and cast off the  $\lambda\beta\epsilon$  and then left, making "chain" a most likely interpretation.

II:7 "Eight face-towels":  $\omega\mu\theta\gamma\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\beta\lambda\theta\omega$ , left untranslated in the original edition. These are frequently found in listings of cloth items, and Crum's suggestion (*Dict.* 46b) of a derivation from  $\gamma\theta$  "face" with a resulting meaning of "face-towel" is convincing.

II:9 "One sheepskin": the editor's  $\theta\gamma\omega\lambda\rho\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\kappa\theta\theta\gamma$  is clearly just a typographical error and should be  $\theta\gamma\omega\lambda\rho\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\kappa\theta\theta\gamma$ , as reflected in her translation, and already noted in Helen Wall's review in *RdE* 10 (1955) 117.

II:10 "Eight dresses":  $\omega\mu\theta\gamma\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\iota\chi\kappa\epsilon$ . We have already encountered the  $\mu\iota\chi\kappa\epsilon$  above in the first note on the will of Susanna, included among the enumeration of the "women's things," where it is clearly a dress of some sort.

#### 4. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 66

This fragmentary document belongs to the Koloje archive featured in chapter five of *Women of Jeme*, and involves both Koloje and her associate Daniel, son of Kalapesios, as lenders, with one of the parties perhaps acting as agent for the other. Although much of

the document is lost, the first lines can be reconstructed confidently on the basis of parallels (and these are the basis for the translation in *Women of Jeme*, p. 124):

ΠΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΗΝ[ . . . ]  
 ΕΦΕΖΔΙ ΝΑΔΝΙΗΛ ΝΚΑΛΑΠ[ΗCΙΟC ΕΙΧΡ-]  
 ΩCΤΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ/ ΝΝΟ[ΥΒ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ]  
 ΔΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΔΚΩ[ΩΠΙ ΖΑΡΟΙ]  
 ΝΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ/ ΕΤΟΟΤC ΝΚΟΛΩΞΕ [ΝΤΑC†]  
 ΜΜΟC ΝΑΚ . . . .

### 5. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 85

In *Women of Jeme* (p. 138) I followed the editors' reading of this text as the division of a dead woman's property in which the woman's iron "furniture" (ΤΕCΖΗΛΕ ΝΒΔΝΙΠΕ) goes to one party and her wood "furniture" (ΤΕCΖΗΛΕ ΝΩΕ) to another, with unspecified items of bronze being shared between them. The editors cite *O.CrumCO* 218 as justification of their translation of ΖΗΛΕ as "furniture"; while this seems possible, on further consideration of the archaeological record I have come to wonder if this translation can be correct. Iron is not, as far as I have been able to ascertain, ever used either for entire items of home furnishing or even as fittings for wooden furniture (which are almost always of bronze). Iron tends to be found only in tools and vessels in Late Antique Egyptian archaeological contexts. Instead, I would suggest that this is the same word as the ΖΗΛΕ of Crum, *Dict.* 667a, known from one instance (in the indefinite, so the grammatical gender of the word is uncertain) where it is clearly a measure or container for bread. A division of iron and wooden containers or measures might well make more sense in terms of the material culture of the time.

### 6. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 155

This document is a complaint to the woman Sabek, who has sent the writer bad wine; he wants her to send replacements back through the woman who delivers the ostrakon. This document is classified as a letter in the original publication; if this were true, it would be a unique example of the use of the phrase "woman of Jeme" outside of a legal document. However, the writer's signature statement "I attest to this sherd" and the overall tenor make it more likely that this is, in fact, some sort of legal complaint, in which Sabek's official place of residence is designated as Jeme for legal purposes.

### 7. Stela Oriental Institute Museum 1569

I include here a note on a text that, while not strictly related to the foregoing, is another of the documents discussed in *Women of Jeme* and of general relevance to readers of that volume. The text in question is Oriental Institute Museum 1569, a funerary stela from J. E. Quibell's excavations at the Ramesseum. This stela, along with other objects from Quibell's excavations, came to the Oriental Institute Museum as part of a distribution of finds. I have alluded to this text in print, most recently in *Women of Jeme* (106-7, 154), as possible evidence for a women's monastic community at the Ramesseum in the ninth century CE. My original plan to publish this text together with the few other Coptic stelae in the Oriental Institute Museum is no longer practical and I do not foresee the opportunity to do so in another context. Although the text is badly damaged and has, so far, eluded a full reading, I give here a provisional transcription of the relevant sections of the text that contain the information discussed in *Women of Jeme*.

OIM inv. 1569 is made of limestone, irregularly rhomboidal, approximately 36 cm high, 30 cm wide and 4 cm thick. It contains 13 lines of text, rather roughly carved and highlighted with ink, disposed in the blank space surrounding a cross that occupies the center of the stela. The text begins with a pious invocation of the

holy trinity, (1) Η ΔΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΔC...,<sup>3</sup> and then gives the name and title of the dedicatee: ... ΤΟΥ- | (2) ΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΜΑ- | (3) ΡΙΑ): "The hegumene, the late Maria." The spelling of Maria's title is nonstandard, but possible, given the vagaries of later documentary Coptic (see, for example, the spellings ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗ and ΥΓΟΥΜΕΝΟC for the feminine and masculine versions of this title in Förster, *WB*, p. 321). She is further qualified as ΤΑΙ ΝΤΕCΔ- | (4) ΩΚ ΠΕCΒΙΟC ΕΒΟΛ... "This one who completed her life ..." The sentence immediately following this is considerably damaged, but the text follows very traditional lines afterwards and includes a date: (5) ΝΕΡΕ ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ Ρ ΟΥΝΑΙ ΝΤΕ- | (6) CΥΥΧΗ ΝΥΝΟC ΔΝΚΗΝΥ Ν- | (7) ΔΒΡΑΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΕΙCΑΚ ΜΝ ΕΙΑΔ- | (8) ΚΩΒ ΕΜ ΜΗΝΙ ΕΠΗΤ | (9) ΚΘ ΕΝΝΑΤΗC ΔΙΟΚΛΗ(ΤΙΑΝΟC) | (10) ΧΖ ΕΤΟΥ CΑΡΑΚΙ- | (11) ΝΟΥ CΠ "May god have mercy on her soul and may he place her in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: in the month of Epiph 29, ninth (indiction, era of) Diocletian 607, year of the Saracens 280." This gives us a date in the late ninth century, July 23, 891 by the indiction and Diocletianic era/Era of the Martyrs dates.<sup>4</sup>

Obviously, this stela is of considerable significance, both in terms of its date after the general abandonment of much of the western Theban area and in terms of its dedication on behalf of a female monastic official. Certainly there are Late Antique remains at the Ramesseum, and it would not be surprising to find a women's monastic community there—as yet, none has been physically identified with certainty. Whether the institution where Maria was a member was a survival from earlier periods or was founded after the general abandonment of the region around 800 CE is uncertain; there is no evidence either way, although one might take the relative paucity of Coptic textual remains to suggest that this institution may not have been long-lived. Perhaps the ongoing French excavations at the Ramesseum will lead to further information in this

<sup>3</sup> Not the commonest beginning in Coptic memorial inscriptions, but compare, e.g., the beginning of the tenth century stela from Abydos *SBKopt* I 745.

<sup>4</sup> The Hijra date does not agree exactly with others, and would be 902 CE if correct; the dates are among the clearer portions of the inscription, though, and the readings are fairly certain. Minor disagreements of this sort are not uncommon in later Coptic inscriptions; see, e.g., *SBKopt* I 744, 746, 783. The editorial tendency is to go with the Diocletianic era date.



direction; for now we can only note the existence of this isolated document.

### **8. Items of personal property from the Jeme excavations: artifacts featured in the exhibition "Another Egypt"**

Much material from the town of Jeme retrieved in the course of the University of Chicago excavations of Medinet Habu in the 1920s and 1930s was published in at least a summary fashion in U. Hölscher's excavation report,<sup>5</sup> while specific corpora of objects have begun to appear under the general editorship of Dr. Emily Teeter of the Oriental Institute. Many of the small finds from the excavation, though, remain unpublished. Since they include material of the sort often cited as personal property in the Jeme documents, they are of some relevance to our understanding of the texts under consideration above and in *Women of Jeme*. Many of the objects from the Medinet Habu excavations were featured in the 1990 Oriental Institute Museum exhibition "Another Egypt: Coptic Christians at Thebes";<sup>6</sup> although no catalogue of this exhibition was published, I compiled a checklist of objects that was distributed with an exhibition brochure. This checklist did not receive wide circulation and thus, in the hope of providing at least a provisional guide to this material, I reproduce below the entries from my checklist for the

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<sup>5</sup> *Excavations at Medinet Habu V: The Post-Ramessid Remains*, Oriental Institute Publications 66 (Chicago 1954); seals and seal impressions published in T.G. Wilfong, "Stamps and Seal Impressions from the Post-Pharaonic Period" in Emily Teeter (ed.), *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu, Based on Notes of Uvo Hölscher and Rudolf Anthes*, Excavations at Medinet Habu VI, Oriental Institute Publications 118 (Chicago 2003) 199-224 and pll. 103-8, ceramic figurines to appear in Emily Teeter (ed.), *Baked Clay Figurines from Medinet Habu*, Excavations at Medinet Habu VII, Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago forthcoming). Additional material from Jeme will doubtless feature in any future volumes in this series.

<sup>6</sup> Note the publication of texts from this exhibition, including a number of inscribed Jeme objects in this journal: T. G. Wilfong, "Greek and Coptic Texts in the Oriental Institute Museum from the Exhibition 'Another Egypt'," *BASP* 29 (1992) 85-95.

few relevant items that do not appear in Hölscher's report or the forthcoming corpora of seals, impressions and ceramic figurines:

*Apothecary scale (OIM inv. 14458a-c)*

Remains of a small scale consisting of a central beam of approximately 15 cm in length and two pans of diameter 4.2 cm, all of bronze. This scale was found in square P/12 on the site in find 29.207, along with a number of the published tools, in the basement of a house.

*Tweezers (OIM inv. 14404)*

Small bronze pair of tweezers, 5.0 cm long and 1.8 cm wide, made of metal 0.3 cm thick. This pair of tweezers was found in square T/18 of the site.

*Jewelry molds (OIM inv. 14807-9)*

One-sided limestone molds for small cross amulets, used to produce bronze crosses similar to the examples in Hölscher, *Excavations at Medinet Habu V* (p. 64 and pl. 39 A 1, 2, 5). Dimensions are 5.0 cm long, 5.0 cm wide and 1.9 cm thick (OIM inv. 14807), 3.7 cm long, 2.7 cm wide and 0.6 thick (OIM inv. 14808), and 4.5 cm long, 4.0 cm wide and 1.0 cm thick (OIM inv. 14809).

*Button (OIM inv. 15877)*

Circular bone button with a single hole in the center, ringed by circular decoration, 3.5 cm in diameter and 0.6 cm thick; this object is from the find 29.211 in square N/11 in the basement of house 34 that included the Koloje archive described in chapter 5 of *Women of Jeme*.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

FRÖSÉN, JAAKKO, ANTTI ARJAVA and MARJO LEHTINEN (eds.), *The Petra Papyri. Volume 1*. With contributions by Zbigniew Fiema, Clement A. Kuehn, Tiina Purola, Tiina Rankinen, Marjaana Vesterinen and Marja Vierros. American Center of Oriental Research Publications No. 4. American Center of Oriental Research: Amman, Jordan, 2002. xix + 142 pages + 26 plates + illustrations and maps. ISBN 090.956543. \$80.

Probably all papyrologists will have known from the outset of the discovery in December 1993 of the carbonized papyri of Petra, the famed caravan city in southern Jordan (see the publications listed in the present volume, pp. xi-xii; earliest entries dating to 1993). They were found in a storage room off a corner of the basilica on the hill overlooking the colonnaded Roman avenue. Since their discovery, the papyri have been studied by teams from Helsinki and from the University of Michigan, operating both separately and in collaboration. The Finns, with Jordanian assistance, were responsible for the painstaking work of conservation, as described in the present volume, pp. 11-6. A division of editorial responsibilities between the teams was first made by assigning odd field numbers to Helsinki, even field numbers to Michigan (Foreword, pp. ix-x). Subsequent adjustments balanced even more finely the half-shares of the editorial work, but the original principle of division, with its unavoidable and inherent problems, remained.

Apart from a small bit of Latin, the texts are all in Greek, spiced with Arabic place-names (see, e.g., Robert W. Daniel, "P.Petra Inv. 10 and Its Arabic," *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* [Florence 2001], I 331-41; hereafter: *Atti*) and loan-words for Semitic measures (see 3-5). They are all sixth century in date. Except for *P.Petra* I 2, drafted in Gaza, they were written in Petra or its environs in the Byzantine province of Palaestina Tertia Salutaris (Kenneth C. Gutwein, *Third Palestine: A Regional Study*

in *Byzantine Urbanization* [Washington, D.C., 1981]). Contemporary Egyptian documents often assist in decipherment and interpretation. But, generally speaking, the Petra documents have to be read on their own and against one another. Their closest associations are with papyri from Nessana in the Negev desert (*P.Ness.* III), itself also a site in the embrace of the old Nabataean kingdom from which the Roman province of Arabia came to be carved out in A.D. 106.

The Petra papyri, for the most part, belong to a dossier of family legal documents. Their central figure is Theodoros son of Obodianos, member of a well-to-do local family (pp. 9-10, with stemma). The documents' precise date range, as presently known, is from 537 to c. 593; the documents in the present volume run from 537 to 578, with large gaps ("Synoptic Chronological Table," pp. 19-21). In terms of historical significance, the later papyri establish that disasters of the mid-sixth century (earthquake, plague) were not fatal to Petra; though perhaps diminished in size and importance, it survived into the early seventh century ("Historical Context," pp. 1-4).

If the work of conservation, as described in this volume, was difficult, so also has been the reading of the papyri—as I recall from personal experience in July 1995. The texts are basically illegible to the naked eye; reading proceeds through the use of special incandescent lamps that both magnify and illuminate the papyri. Through these the ink appears as distinctly glossy black swirls against the matte-black background of the material papyrus. The lamps thus render the writing legible, but the lamps tend to become very hot (and so do your eyes); and because the writing, usually in very large hands, is magnified, not much text can be read at any one time. The lamps must be moved ever so slightly to new areas of text by their arms in stages. Constant refocusing is required. Add to this the size of some of the papyri (*P.Petra* I 2 is an extreme example; see below) and you gain some impression of how trying the work can be.

What is offered in the volume under review is the first installment of the Finnish team's share of the Petra papyri. Soon to be completed is the first Michigan volume, devoted entirely to the massive Inv. 10 (see for now Ludwig Koenen, "Preliminary Observations on Legal Matters in *P.Petra* 10," *Atti* II 727-42). Volume III

will contain texts assigned to both teams. A separate Finnish volume will be assigned exclusively to Inv. 83, a huge out-of-court settlement concerning Theodoros's property, not in Petra, but in nearby Zadaqa (Kastron Zadakathon), with some very interesting details on domestic architecture and water rights (Maarit Kaimio, "P.Petra inv. 83: A Settlement of Dispute," *Atti* II 719-24). Thus, according to Traianos Gagos, to whom I owe this and other inside information, we should expect in the end at least five, or even six Petra volumes, all to be published by ACOR. As the editing proceeds, so also does the work of reconstruction as more fragments get placed and some documents are more precisely reconstituted. It will obviously be some time before the contribution of the full roster of Petra papyri to historical knowledge of this region, so dimly known in every—but especially in its late antique—phase, can be adequately assessed.

The principal document in the present volume, 1, is an agreement which is complex in nature, a post-marital document of some sort whose parties are Theodoros and his avunculus-cum-father-in-law, Patrophilos. This is an agreement in which Theodoros's wife (and first cousin) Stephanous, though not a party, has serious interests at stake. The apparent aim of the agreement was "to clarify various financial aspects which for some reason had not been dealt with sufficiently in the marriage contract itself" (p. 24). The document is preserved on a roll whose remains measure 1.7 meters in length. Written *transversa charta*, the text represents the earliest securely-dated Petra document, 23 May 537. At issue are problems concerning succession to "a maternal dowry," specifically one formerly belonging to Theodoros's deceased mother, now being ceded to him by Patrophilos following Theodoros's marriage to Stephanous. Lines 18-35 are a kind of mutual will (editors' intro.) in which various scenarios are laid out for the assignment of the dowry's property in the event of the deaths of one or more of the three individuals concerned.

2, like 1, is written *transversa charta*. As the surviving roll is 8.5 meters long, this accordingly takes its place as by far the longest *transversa charta* papyrus yet published (this point is not stressed in the edition, but see Antti Arjava's posting to PAPYLIST, 18 March 2003). It is of additional interest because it was drafted in

Gaza (and dated by the era of Gaza, traced back to Pompey), where Theodoros was temporarily residing (διάγων). The date is 10 May 538. Extremely fragmentary despite its physical size (it contains 642 lines of printed text), the document is an agreement between Theodoros and one or two other parties about some inherited property. The heading is fairly well preserved or open to secure reconstruction, but the substance of the agreement survives only in bits and pieces.

**3-5**, with various dates in 538, are requests for transfer of tax responsibilities for property in the region of Petra (including Augustopolis, modern Udruh) from the account of "the most illustrious Panolbios" to Flavius Patrikios (certainly in **3** and **5**, likely in **4**). The texts are in wide-columned format. For Egyptian parallels, see the chart, pp. 80-1.

**6-11**, inventoried as no. 69, were found together in unusual circumstances: **7-10** were bundled together; attached to them (it is not stated how) was **6**. The resulting bundle was completely enwrapped by **11** (pp. 95-6, cf. preliminary discussion: Marjaana Vesterinen, "Theft and Taxes. A Series of Short Documents (P.Petra inv. 69.1-8)," *Atti* II 1281-5). **6**, despite its brevity (20 short lines), is the only complete document in the whole collection. It is a list of items allegedly stolen by Patrophilos's son Hierios from an apartment owned apparently by one Epiphanios—a key, cypress trees (?), birds, a table. Although τοῦ may not be written between παρά and αὐτοῦ in line 19 (see p. 99, note to line 19), the plate (XXI) suggests that there is some writing there, two to three letters not indicated in the transcript, but (in any case) not consonant with a reading of τοῦ. **7-10** concern land tax payments of Patrophilos over some fifteen years (except for year 5—when there was a moratorium, see p. 102), apparently in the 560s and 570s. These pieces are dated by indiction only, but a synoptic chronological schema is proposed in a table on p. 105. The text of **11** includes a date (month Peritios, 463<sup>rd</sup> year of the provincial era, 2<sup>nd</sup> indiction). There are deciphered words, but little in the way of connected text.

The same may be said for the "Minor Documents," **12-16**. The benefits of these fragmentary pieces are not immediately apparent; time will tell. All are written *transversa charta*.

Plates are provided for **1-11**, but (understandably) not for **12-16**. The editing is of the highest quality. The papyri as physical artifacts are meticulously described. I only note a few minor glitches in this handsome book. On p. 92, line 5 of the translation, "thirty-second" is a slip for "thirty-two." On p. 95 line 5, "seven" seems to be a slip for "six"; in any case, I found myself, despite close re-reading, still confused about the numbering of the individual pieces of Inv. 69. On p. 104, line 12: for "enaction," presumably read: "enactment."

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MOOREN, LEON (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Bertinoro 19-24 July 1997*. *Studia Hellenistica* 36. Leuven, Peeters; 2000. xxii + 514 pages. ISBN 90-429-0994-3.

The present volume is yet another result of the very productive International Research Network "Society and Administration in the Hellenistic and Roman world".<sup>1</sup> This research group was sponsored by the Flemish Fund for Scientific Research between 1994 and 2000 and enabled three Belgian universities (Leuven, Brussels, and Antwerp) to work closely together with each other and with eight more European institutions (Bologna, Leiden, Trier, Cologne, Göttingen, Thessaloniki, Cambridge, and King's College London), allowing members from all institutions to meet and discuss various topics.<sup>2</sup>

This volume contains the papers presented by the participants in the Research Network during a colloquium that was held in Bertinoro in 1997. Unlike the previous meetings, this colloquium did not have one specific topic. Instead, the participants presented their research topics under the general umbrella of "Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World: Structure and Change." The twenty-one papers collected in this volume indeed reflect this broad theme. The papers deal with regions as geographically diverse as the north-west (Roman Germany) and the south-east (Egypt), and with all sources available to study the theme under discussion, from literary texts to papyri and coins.

The core of the scholars taking part in the Research Network specialize in the eastern part of the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period, and this is reflected also in the current volume. Out

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<sup>1</sup> Other reviews: *BiOr* 59 (2002), 527-530 (Dennis P. Kehoe); *Aegyptus* 80 (2000) 288-92 (Cinzia Bearzot).

<sup>2</sup> Priests in Ptolemaic Egypt (Trier, November 1994); Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt (Brussels, May 1995); the Roman *ordo equester* (Brussels and Leuven, October 1995); Fayum Towns (Leuven, February 1996); Women in Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt (Brussels and Leuven, November 1997); and Papyrus Collections Worldwide (Leuven, March 2000).

of the twenty-one papers, ten deal with the southeastern part of the Mediterranean (Egypt, Sinai), nine focus on Greece, Asia Minor, Seleucid empire, and two on the west (Italy, Germany).

Of the ten papers that concern the south-east part of the Mediterranean, five focus on Ptolemaic Egypt. Three discuss the establishment of the power of the Ptolemaic dynasty both within Egypt itself and within the Mediterranean world at large. W. Clarysse (pp. 29-53) discusses the known visits of Ptolemaic kings to the countryside, which apart from dealing with religious and administrative matters, could also be seen as establishing Ptolemaic power; this goal perhaps could apply also to the city-founding activities of Boethos, a high-ranking military official related to the Ptolemaic court in lower Nubia (H. Heinen, pp. 123-53). Setting the legitimacy of the Ptolemaic rule within the Mediterranean world at large through the royal festival of the Ptolemaieia is the subject of the paper by D. Thompson (pp. 365-88). Two papers deal with the military and administrative control of the Ptolemies over the often rebellious southern part of the country, using temple inscriptions (G. Dietze; pp. 77-89) and tax receipts (K. Vandorpe; pp. 405-36) as their main sources.

Three papers are concerned with Roman Egypt. Of these, one gives a full publication of a papyrus text (P. Carlsberg inv. 421), in which Jews are listed with their payments to the *Fiscus Judaicus* (C. Salvaterra; pp. 287-348). The first part of this well-researched paper gives an updated and complete discussion of this tax and the criteria by which the payers were determined. The two remaining papers deal with administrative ties between villages in the southwest Fayum (H. Melaerts; pp. 239-50) and the administration and taxation of vineyards and gardens in second century Theadelphia (J. France; pp. 91-105). The two remaining papers are of a more varied nature. P. van Minnen (pp. 437-69) discusses euergetism in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and H. Verreth deals with the history of a salt water lake in the northern Sinai (pp. 471-87).

The majority of the papers dealing with the northeastern Mediterranean discuss Hellenistic history. Three papers deal with Asia Minor. V. Andreou (pp. 1-13) discusses the social and economic life of the elite in Miletus in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods; his sources are mainly inscriptions. G.A. Lehman (pp. 215-38) dis-

cusses the struggle for independence of Kolophon in the "roaring thirties" of the second century BCE. J. Raeymakers (pp. 275-86) deals with a passage in Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*, in which the city of Aspendus plays the main role. Raeymakers concludes that this passage, which has generally been taken to be historical, probably is not. F. Muccioli (pp. 251-74) discusses the changing state of affairs in the Seleucid empire at the end of the second century BCE, when the central power was weakening considerably. S. Funke (pp. 107-21) holds that Hellenistic Epirus was a real state and not a confederacy in the early Hellenistic period. J. Bollansée discusses the largely negative tradition describing the philosopher Persaios of Krition at the court of Antigonos II Gonatas (pp. 15-28). M. Zahrtnt gives a vivid description of the state of affairs in Sicily just before the conflict with Rome in the late third century BCE (pp. 489-514). Furthermore, A. Cristofori (pp. 55-75) assesses the value of literary texts and honorific inscriptions to determine the responses of the local populations in Greece and Asia Minor to the rule of Republican Rome. Based on several case-studies he concludes that these sources do not contribute much to our knowledge of this subject. The final paper that could be placed in this region, although it makes connections to the west, is that of G. Schepens (pp. 349-64). He discusses Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, showing with the help of passages describing the old Roman ways of life that in writing this work Plutarch had a double audience in mind, the Greeks and the Romans.

The two papers that deal with the western part of the Roman Empire are by J. Heinrichs and J. Touloumakos. In a long and well-documented paper Heinrichs (pp. 155-214) tries to sort out the monetary relations between the army and the subject population in early Roman Germany. He argues that the army imported the larger denominations in gold and silver, while the smaller denominations in bronze were left to local minting and exchange. Touloumakos (pp. 389-404) discusses the importance of Greek education and culture in the western Roman Empire with the help of bilingual inscriptions.

It is very unfortunate that the editor of the volume has made no attempt to put the volume in perspective by adding a general introduction. Numerous lines can be drawn between the various papers,

and it would have served the goals of the Research Network better if this had been made clear.<sup>3</sup> It is to be expected that such links will have emerged during the discussions in Bertinoro itself, but why not attempt to present these connections to the world? Also, very annoyingly for a book with such a wide array of topics, there are no indices. And although it is possible defend the lack of indices by pointing to the nature of the book as "proceedings," I think that providing indices is not only a service to the readers, but also a tribute to the contributors, whose hard work can thus become much more accessible.

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<sup>3</sup> An attempt to tie the contributions in this volume together is made by Dennis Kehoe in his review (see n. 1). Themes he mentions are, among others, "changing political structures," and "relationship between ruling authority and subject population." Indeed, to give one example, a number of papers (Heinrichs, Salvaterra, Vadorpe, Zahrnt) can be used to show how taxation could work in establishing power in different settings.

BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER, ANNE LISE, *Koptische Ostraka*: Band I: Ostraka aus dem Britischen Museum in London mit Einführung in das Formular der vorgelegten Urkunden; Band II: Ostraka aus dem Ashmolean Museum in Oxford mit Einführung in das Formular der vorgelegten Urkunden, Aussagen aller Texte zum Alltag der thebanischen Bevölkerung, Indices zu Band I und II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission, 2000. 2 volumes (xi + 342 pages + 52 plates; x + 312 pages + 18 plates). ISBN 3-447-04328-8.

Scholars with a special interest in Coptic ostraca have been kept busy in recent years with increasing numbers of editions, in articles and monographs, of these fascinating and frustrating Coptic texts on potsherds and chips of stone. The publication under review here will be welcomed by all who have a special interest in Coptic ostraca, as well as anyone interested in the social, economic, institutional and monastic history of Egypt in the century before and after the Muslim Conquest. In two substantial volumes, Annelise Biedenkopf-Ziehner edits, translates and comments on some 75 Coptic ostraca from two British collections, almost all heretofore unpublished, and provides a wealth of synthetic and analytic study that relates these texts to other contemporary documents.

In this work, the author publishes 53 ostraca from the British Museum and 22 ostraca from the Ashmolean Museum in separate volumes.<sup>1</sup> Nearly all of these ostraca come from the western Theban area, and most of the British Museum texts are from the Egypt Exploration Fund excavation of the site of the Monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri. Almost

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<sup>1</sup> These texts are cited, in the *Checklist*, as *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II and *O.Ashm.Copt.*, respectively, and individual texts will be cited with these abbreviations in the present review.

all date from the late sixth to late eighth centuries CE. They are, for the most part, documentary texts of types well known from published examples: legal documents, receipts, letters, lists, etc. The British Museum ostraca form a substantial addition to the already extensive corpus of ostraca from the Monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el Bahri. In general they reflect the same kinds of concerns as the published documents: the activities and interactions of monks and laypeople. Legal documents concern loans and land-related transactions, while letters show a wide range of communications. The British Museum texts also include a new Jeme tax receipt (*O.Brit.Mus. Copt.* II 15) of a type already well known. A number of the Ashmolean ostraca have been published before, but in all cases the new editions are superior. As mentioned above, there are a number of Jeme tax receipts (*O.Ashm.Copt.* 4-15) to add to the hundreds already known; many of the Ashmolean examples involve individuals already known and are likely to help refine the chronology of scribes already established for these late seventh/early eighth century receipts (indeed, the author makes a substantial start on this in her discussion on pp. 162-86 of the second volume). Of special interest is a new protective pass of the kind known as a *logos mpnoute* (*O.Ashm.Copt.* 3) from the early eighth century. Those of us who avidly follow the activities of the monk Frange will be glad to see a full edition of the letter (with photograph) previously known only from a transcription and translation (*O.CrumVC* 81, now *O.Ashm.Copt.* 19), although the proposed early seventh century date may well require revision. The volumes also include a few non-documentary texts: literary texts (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 44-7), a hymn (*O.Ashm.Copt.* 22), a scribal exercise (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 43), and what may be either a scribal exercise or a magical text (*O.Ashm.Copt.* 21, a document that would certainly repay further investigation). Each ostrakon is edited, translated and given an extensive commentary, and illustrated both in photographic plates and hand facsimiles. In the case of ostraca that are particularly difficult to read in the

photographs (such as the tax receipts) the hand facsimiles can be useful, but may also be a mixed blessing given their relative subjectivity—the facsimiles are clearly a product of the editor's interpretation.

In addition to her meticulous editions of the texts, the author also gives us the benefits of her great expertise in documentary formulae: each volume features an introduction, in which the formula of the documents under discussion is laid out, analyzed and compared to that of other Theban documents. The second volume also contains an extremely useful summation of what these texts tell us about the lives of the people who wrote them. This substantial synthesis places these documents in the context of the other texts from western Thebes, providing lists and concordances that will be essential for anyone working on this material. The author shows how these documents were a part of the daily life of their scribes and the people named in them. She also relates these documents to their monastic context, exploring the roles of clerics and lay people named in them, and placing them in the wider context of Egyptian monastic history before and after the Muslim conquest. The author also provides an overview of the particular features of the language of these texts. The volume concludes with an extensive set of indices and concordances.

Given the wealth of information these two volumes provide with their editions of new texts, analyses and syntheses, it may seem ungrateful for a reviewer to complain. However, this wealth of information is not always easy to get at. As produced, these two volumes are unwieldy to use. There is a great deal of repetition and duplication in this publication: prefatory material and comments on texts could have been presented much more concisely. The extensive essay at the end of the second volume is a jumble—lists and concordances appear in the middle of text and the ordering of material is not always easy to understand. Although the reviewer can see some advantages in separating out the ostraca from the two different

collections, there is so much blank space in text and plates that judicious formatting and careful editing could have easily accommodated all 75 of these ostraca and the supplementary material in a single volume. This would have permitted collapsing of the two introductory sections on formulae into one and allowed more convenient access to the indices. As it stands, however, these indices are especially burdensome to use—for some inexplicable reason the texts are cited in the indices by museum inventory number rather than sequential publication number of the edition itself. Thus a reader checking the name index for "Frange" is referred to "C.O. 43" and then must consult the concordance on pp. 308-9 of the second volume to discover that this is, in fact, the museum inventory number for "AM 19"—the 19<sup>th</sup> text published in the second volume of ostraca from the Ashmolean Museum. In the course of intensive reading of these volumes, one might begin to remember which inventory numbers correspond to which publication numbers, but this is an entirely unwarranted inconvenience. One hates to go on at length about issues of format and logistics, but a diligent user of this volume will likely come to share the reviewer's frustration with it—frustration largely on behalf of the author. For her hard work and valuable insights are ill-served by the difficulties of access that these volumes pose.

Anyone who has spent any amount of time grubbing around with Coptic ostraca can appreciate something of the enormous effort that must have gone into the preparation of these substantial volumes. The author deserves our thanks for her unstinting efforts to make available an important group of Coptic documentary texts. These volumes are a valuable contribution to scholarship, and will repay close study.

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CLACKSON, SARAH, J. *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo*. Griffith Institute Monographs. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2000. xvi + 187 pages + 48 plates. ISBN 0-900416-75-0. £60; \$149 from US distributor David Brown Book Company.

Documentary texts from monastic communities in Late Antique Egypt provide unique insights into the spiritual and worldly concerns of their inhabitants, recording their religious devotions as well as their economic and social practices. All too often, documents relating to monasteries are dispersed among many collections and, as a result, published in a scattered, haphazard fashion—one thinks of the Monastery of Phoibamon at Deir el Bahri, for example. But thanks to the diligence and skill of the author of the present volume, a substantial mass of documentation in Coptic and Greek for the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo has been brought together in one informative, fascinating and handsome volume.

The author collects together here some 66 Coptic and Greek documents from the sixth to ninth centuries CE, most previously unpublished, all relating to a Monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome.<sup>1</sup> There are two likely possibilities for the location of this monastery—Titkooh or the well-known Bawit—and there is the distinct possibility that these two names designate the same place or else monasteries that are very close by. Bawit is known from extensive archaeological remains as well as texts found in the course of the excavation, while Titkooh is known almost exclusively from textual evidence without a good archaeological provenance. The author presents the evidence for these various possibilities, but wisely leaves the question open; none of these texts come

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<sup>1</sup> This edition is cited in the *Checklist* as *P.Mon.Apollo*. This review was submitted before Dr. Clackson's death; see the obituary notice at the beginning of the present volume.

from a controlled archaeological excavation and it seems more useful to concentrate on the texts themselves, although they will certainly be of crucial importance to those interested in the recent publication of texts from the Bawit excavations.

The texts in the present volume have been assembled from numerous collections throughout Europe and the United States. Indeed, the volume represents something of a triumph for what the author has called elsewhere "museum archaeology." By tracking the dispersal of papyri into museum collections and the movements of papyri from private collections on the antiquities market, the author has collected a wide range of material that otherwise might never have been brought together. She has reunited an archive of related papyri from far-flung and widely dispersed fragments, using skills as much archival as papyrological. This volume provides an object lesson in how to comb disparate collections for related material while showing what interesting things can be done with the results.

Of the documents published in this volume, many (1-23) relate in some way to the collection of tithes (*aparchê*) on behalf of the Monastery of Apa Apollo and other institutions. Evidence for the nature of tithes and their collection in Late Antique Egypt is not particularly extensive, and the present volume provides a valuable supplement to what was previously known. These papyri show the administration of a complex system of tithe collection by monks on behalf of their monasteries, and raise many questions about the impact of tithing on the regional economy. Other documents relate to monastic land holdings (24-7) and the taxation of the monks (28-32). This latter group of papyri, including a number of tax demands directed to monks, is an important addition to what is already known on the subject, and the author's discussion of the taxation of monks in Late Antique Egypt is very insightful. A particularly fascinating section of documents shows the monks of the Monastery of Apa Apollo acting as creditors and debtors (33-44), while other documents (45-9) relate to the

production of wine and its importance in the economy of the Monastery of Apa Apollo. A section of miscellaneous texts relating to the other economic activities of the monks (50-7) includes a most interesting document relating to the keeping of bees at the monastery (50). The Hermopolite area seems to have been especially conducive to apiculture, and this papyrus suggests many further lines of inquiry. A few educational texts (58-9) show the monks practicing letter and documentary formulae; one of these (59<sup>a</sup>) is practice for the formula *peneiôt petshai*, the introductory phrase of a specific class of document that form the subject of the author's posthumous, forthcoming monograph. The volume concludes with fragments of the beginnings of a number of documents (60-6) relating to the Monastery of Apa Apollo.

This volume is beautifully produced, a typographically complex piece of work that is both elegant and easy to use. Well laid-out, thoroughly indexed and illustrated, this book is a model for how handsome an edition of papyri can be. As with its earlier volume of Coptic texts reviewed in the pages of this journal,<sup>2</sup> papyrologists and Coptacists are greatly in the debt of the Griffith Institute for providing yet another fine edition of texts for our use. Let us hope that they continue to publish in this area.

The present volume is an excellent example of the value of "museum archaeology" for the papyrologist, also a thought-provoking study of a fascinating group of documents. For those interested in monasticism and the economic history of Late Antique Egypt, this volume will be an engrossing object of study.

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<sup>2</sup> K.H. Kuhn and W.J. Tait, *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns from Manuscript M574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Oxford 1996).

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- BASTIANINI, GUIDO and ANGELO CASANOVA. *Il papiro di Posidippo un anno dopo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Firenze, 13-14 giugno 2002*. Studi e Testi di Papirologia 4. Firenze: Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli; 2002. 160 pages. ISBN 88-87829-25-X.
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